

# Revealed: Britain's new drive to strengthen anti-Russia alliance

**Patrick Wintour** Diplomatic editor

The UK will use a series of international summits this year to call for a comprehensive strategy to combat Russian disinformation and urge a rethink on traditional diplomatic dialogue with Moscow, following the Kremlin's aggressive campaign of denials over



▲ Vladimir Putin's government lies systematically, one diplomat says

the use of chemical weapons in the UK and the Syrian town of Douma.

British diplomats plan to use four major summits this year - held by the G7, the G20, Nato and the European Union - to try to deepen the alliance against Russia built by the Foreign Office after the poisoning of the former Russian double agent Sergei Skripal and his daughter Yulia in Salisbury.

"The foreign secretary [Boris

Johnson] regards Russia's response to Douma and Salisbury as a turning point and thinks there is international support to do more," a Whitehall official said. "The areas the UK are most likely to pursue are countering Russian disinformation and finding a mechanism to enforce accountability for the use of chemical weapons."

Former Foreign Office officials admit a reluctance to accuse Russia

once permeated British diplomatic thinking, but say that after the Skripal poisoning, that attitude is evaporating.

A cross-party alliance in parliament sees the question of Russian corruption no longer through the prism of finance, but instead as a security and foreign policy threat, requiring fresh sanctions even if this causes shortterm economic damage to the UK.

Ministers want to pursue a broad Russian containment strategy covering cybersecurity, Nato's military posture, sanctions against Vladimir Putin's oligarchs and a more comprehensive approach to disinformation.

It is argued that votes by MPs this week over public registers of beneficial share ownership in Britain's overseas territories and the introduction of Magnitsky-style

#### Don't replay 1930s, Nobel economists tell Trump

#### **Dominic Rushe**

New York

More than 1,100 economists have written to Donald Trump to warn him that his "economic protectionism" and tough rhetoric on trade threaten to repeat the mistakes the US made in the 1930s, when the world was plunged into the Great Depression.

The 1,140 signatories, who include 14 Nobel prize winners and former White House advisers, sent the letter yesterday as a row escalated over trade between the US and China, the EU and other countries.

Trump has imposed tariffs on steel and aluminium imports of 25% and 10% on China and has granted only temporary reprieves to the EU, Australia and other nations while talks are held. He is also considering 25% levies on a further \$50bn (£37bn) of Chinese imports, targeting more than 1.300 products from torpedoes to dishwashers, golf carts, mirrors and aircraft seats. China has threatened to retaliate, with a focus on agricultural products.

The US treasury secretary, Steve Mnuchin, and commerce secretary, Wilbur Ross, are in Beijing for trade talks with their Chinese counterparts.

The economists' letter 4 >







PHOTOGRAPH:

**Botanic gardens bloom again** Plants growing at the 4,800-sq-metre Temperate House in Kew Gardens, London, being watered yesterday by horticultural apprentice Emma Love. The world's largest Victorian glasshouse nurtures 10,000 plants, including rare and threatened species, and is reopening on Saturday after a five-year £41m restoration scheme.

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#### **Ewen MacAskill**

The government has backed down

The Home Office bowed to pressure after the interpreters sent a letter of protest when they were told they would have to pay £2,389 each to apply for indefinite leave to remain. They had been allowed into the UK initially on a five-year relocation scheme.

The government's initial decision seems to be one of many examples of the Home Office's "hostile environment" policy to reduce the number of immigrants.

defence secretary, Gavin Williamson, signalled the change of heart. He told the BBC: "These are people who have served alongside our armed forces and they have done so much ... so we have

staving in this country. We want to do everything we can do to make sure they are able to do that, and we have been in touch with the Home Office making that position clear, and I am quite confident the Home Office will be supporting us and making sure that happens as quickly as possible."

made it absolutely clear they should be

In their letter of protest, the interpreters had written: "We took great risk because we believed in the integrity of the British army, only to be let down by politicians who see us as a number and not as people who have



British service personnel worked closely with interpreters in the field

▼ Gavin Williamson heading into this week's Brexit meeting. Brexiters fear he will be under pressure from No 10 PHOTOGRAPH: HANNAH MCKAY/REUTERS



#### Williamson 'will be pressed to back May's customs plan'

#### **Heather Stewart**

Political editor

**News** 

Leave-backing ministers fear Downing Street will try to pick off the defence secretary, Gavin Williamson, in the coming days to break the cabinet deadlock and secure a majority for Theresa May's favoured customs plan.

A meeting of the prime minister's Brexit subcommittee ended without agreement on Wednesday when the new home secretary, Sajid Javid, sided with hardline Brexiters to reject a customs partnership, which is favoured by Downing Street.

Williamson, who secured a rapid promotion from chief whip to defence secretary, was the least vocal of those expressing doubts about the plan at the two and a half hour meeting.

"They'll call him in and try to promise him something: they'll ask him what his price is," said one Whitehall source.

The customs partnership would involve Britain collecting tariffs on the EU's behalf. Brexiters fear it would be bureaucratic for businesses and could limit Britain's capacity to diverge from EU rules in future.

But its backers, who include the chancellor, Philip Hammond, and the business secretary, Greg Clark, believe it is the only plan that has a chance of avoiding a hard border in Ireland.

Pro-Brexit ministers prefer the alternative of maximum facilitation, or "max-fac", using technology to minimise cumbersome border checks. Both plans have been rejected by Brussels as unworkable in their present form.

No vote was taken on Wednesday, but insiders said six of the 11 members spoke against the customs partnership plan.

Jacob Rees-Mogg's European Research Group, which sent the prime minister a 30-page report this week opposing her preferred plan, believes it has Williamson's support. Rees-Mogg has called the customs partnership proposal "cretinous".

The defence secretary used a speech at the Churchill War Rooms this week to argue that "in a post-Brexit world, our only limit will be our imagination".

The Brexit secretary, David Davis, told MPs yesterday that both the government's options remained on the table: "Both of these approaches have merits and virtues, both have some drawbacks and that's why we're taking our time over the discussion on this?

He told allies he hoped to "find a way through" the impasse in the next week, although he does not yet know

The chancellor and business secretary have urged their colleagues to reach a resolution as soon as possible or risk businesses losing confidence in being able to trade freely with the EU after Brexit.

Downing Street sources acknowledged the "urgency" of reaching a conclusion about which approach the government would seek to negotiate with Brussels.

Answering questions from MPs, Davis refused to set a deadline. "It's frankly incredibly important that we get this right, not just for trade but for the extremely sensitive issue of maintaining the peace process in Northern Ireland. I don't undertake to put an artificial deadline on something as important as that," he told the Commons.

Privately, Davis backs the max-fac option, though he has loyally kept both plans alive in public. He told MPs the customs partnership was "a brand new idea. It's never been tested anywhere in the world."

The prime minister's spokesman sought to play down the significance of Wednesday's deadlock. "There's an ongoing process of putting together the plans that will allow us to leave the EU in the smoothest possible way,"

Peers have inflicted 10 defeats on the government's crucial piece of Brexit legislation, the EU withdrawal bill, in the House of Lords, passing amendments including one urging May to pursue a policy of remaining in a customs union.

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#### Home Office drops visa fees for Afghan interpreters

Defence correspondent

over the fate of more than 150 Afghan interpreters who worked alongside British troops during their hard-fought deployment in Helmand province.

Speaking before the Home Office made a formal announcement, the

sacrificed more for this country than many of its citizens.

"We implore you to end your shameful and indefensible policy towards interpreters like us who risked everything.

They said the £2,389 fee was unaffordable for many of them, and that some had been denied the right to have their wives and children join them in

Other were struggling to find funds for a possible fee of £1,200 to secure the documentation that was necessary for their children who had been born in the UK, they said.

The government agreed initially to allow 390 interpreters who served in Helmand between December 2011 and December 2012 into the UK.

Retired Col Simon Diggins, who served in Afghanistan, described that agreement as arbitrary in a letter to the Guardian earlier this year. He said it excluded about 2,000 who had worked elsewhere in the country, including Kabul.

Among them is a 34-year-old, known as Ricky, the British army's longest-serving Afghan interpreter. British officers backed him, saying he had risked his life on numerous occasions, even though he had not served in Helmand.



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▼ Prince Harry and Meghan Markle wanted 'to allow members of the public to feel part of the celebrations' PHOTOGRAPH: EDDIE MULHOLLAND/AP



# It's a right royal invitation, but bring your own picnic

#### **Robert Booth**

The wedding invitation is meant to build bridges between the royal family and some of the most deprived parts of British society.

Twelve hundred chosen members of the public - including inner-city youth workers from Coventry and community leaders from Bolton - will crowd inside the grounds of Windsor Castle to be among the first to see Prince Harry and Meghan Markle emerge as a married couple on Saturday 19 May.

But it seems the hospitality will not extend far. Representatives of the royal family, which has an estimated net worth well in excess of £400m, have sent letters to these guests encouraging them to bring their own picnics, in a move described by one invitee as "unfathomable".

Debrett's guide to etiquette advises at least six canapés per person prelunch at a wedding, but guests have been encouraged in letters from lord lieutenants, the Queen's representatives in the counties, "to bring a picnic lunch as it will not be possible to buy food and drink on site".

The crowds are expected to spend at least four and a quarter hours on the verges outside St George's chapel, filling a space inside the castle grounds that would otherwise show up on TV coverage as empty.

Saeed Atcha, 21, the founder of Xplode, a Bolton-based youth magazine set up after the 2011 riots, said some of the disadvantaged people his charity helped were bemused by the decision. "They were saying: how come they have this money and you have to bring a picnic," he said. "I am of the same opinion. It's unfathomable."

He said he had been checking on internet maps and had seen there was a supermarket and a fast-food outlet nearby. "There's a McDonald's, but I'm not sure I'll be able to bring in a filet meal. Maybe there will be a U-turn."

Kensington Palace indicated this week that some refreshments and snacks would be available, but declined to elaborate.

It matters not to Rashid Bhayat, 38, the leader of a youth charity from Coventry, who will attend the wedding with his wife, because he will be observing Ramadan, the dawn-to-dusk

#### **BBC's diverse lineup**

The Desert Island Discs host Kirsty Young and X Factor presenter Dermot O'Leary are to join Huw Edwards in fronting the BBC's coverage of the wedding of Prince Harry and Meghan Markle.

And with Harry and Meghan inviting 1,200 members of the public from a range of backgrounds to Windsor Castle to reflect the diversity of the nation, it is no surprise to see the corporation following suit with a change in its lineup for the occasion.

The Countryfile host Anita Rani, a presenter at William and Kate's wedding, will this time be joined by the Strictly Come Dancing winner Ore Oduba and the Radio 1 journalist Tina Daheley.

Missing this time are Fearne Cotton, Edith Bowman, Sophie Raworth and Fiona Bruce.

ITV is repeating its 2011 lineup, with coverage fronted by Julie Etchingham and Phillip Schofield. Tara Conlan fast observed by Muslims. "If you hear I fainted, it won't be because I was star-struck," he said.

Last month Kensington Palace announced that Meghan and Harry wanted to shape their wedding day "to allow members of the public to feel part of the celebrations too".

The invited crowd inside the castle perimeter will include people "from a broad range of backgrounds and ages, including young people who have shown strong leadership and those who have served their communities".

They will play a starring role in TV pictures beamed around the world to an audience expected to be in the hundreds of millions, though throwing rice or confetti is not encouraged.

The crowd will be bolstered by 1,140 palace staff and people who live and work in and around Windsor Castle, 100 schoolchildren, and 200 people associated with charities in which the couple are involved.

At 2pm, after the wedding, the 600 guests inside the chapel will go to a lunchtime reception in the castle, while the crowd outside will go home or mill about in Windsor.

Paucity on the catering front has not dimmed invitees' enthusiasm for being part of a crowd that Harry and Meghan are keen should reflect Britain's diversity.

The 200 guests associated with the couple's charities will have the prime spots closest to the chapel doors. They will include representatives of Invictus, the sports charity for injured servicemen and women; Sentebale, a humanitarian charity in Lesotho; and WellChild, a charity for seriously ill children.

Atcha said he set up his magazine charity when he was 15, after young people were branded "feral animals" and "scum" in some of the coverage of the 2011 riots. The charity has given 3,000 people opportunities to work on the quarterly magazine. Before Meghan and Harry got engaged, he had seen them speak separately, her about racism and him about youth activism.

Bhayat said he worked with young people in Coventry who were "alienated from society", often affected by cuts to youth centres and sports programmes, which had left them more susceptible to antisocial behaviour and crime.

"In Coventry and beyond this invitation has made people feel connected to the wedding," he said. "That is important for the royals at the moment. They are really reaching out."

He said the initiative would help in "building a bridge between higher society and us at the grassroots".

## Hard cheese What food to take

#### - if you're not asked to lunch

#### **Felicity Cloake**

The news that the 1,200 members of the public whose good deeds have secured them an invitation to the royal wedding will have to bring their own picnics should come as a relief to those worthy folk. After all, as the American gastronome James Beard put it, if the rain holds off,

picnics are "one of the supreme pleasures of outdoor life". All food tastes better seasoned with fresh air.

The best picnics may be casual but there are a few simple rules for success and, as usual, mostly involve planning. This is not the time to do a smash and grab at M&S Windsor - you'll inevitably end up with too much mismatched food to lug home afterwards. Instead, choose a centrepiece, such as a pie,

ham or cheese, and work from there: contrary to popular belief, not all such occasions require a sharing bag of crisps and a dip selection.

Be practical: go for foods that travel well. Crusty rolls rather than floppy sandwiches, robust pork pies instead of flimsy quiches, and coleslaw or potato salad in place of delicate leaves prone to wilting.

Soft fruits such as strawberries always seem like a good idea but bruise easily and then bleed over the rug; I would go for naturally packaged citrus fruit instead, though you might prefer to be like the happy couple and have it in cake form (a lemon drizzle is easy to carry). Favour foods that sit happily out of



▲ A pork pie and coleslaw will travel better than a quiche and salad leaves

the fridge: washed rind cheeses such as Brie improve as they warm up, while harder cheeses begin to sweat. And ditch the butter for mayonnaise or cream cheese.

Cured and smoked meats and fish cope with sitting in the sun better than poached salmon or roast chicken, and baked goods are a wiser option than creamy puddings.

Remember the unglamorous stuff, too. No one ever regretted bringing rubbish and recycling bags alongside the chilled fizz and plastic flutes.

Finally, bear in mind that at the last such bash, guests were served "finger food". Compared with that, even a packet of Pringles may feel like a banquet.

▼ Stephanie Clifford, also known as Stormy Daniels, with her lawyer, Michael Avenatti, in New York PHOTOGRAPH: EDUARDO MUNOZ ALVAREZ/AFP



# Trump admits hush money was paid to Stormy Daniels

#### **David Smith** Washington

Donald Trump has admitted that \$130,000 (£96,000) of hush money was paid to the pornographic actor Stormy Daniels to stop her going public about an alleged affair with him, despite the US president previously denving knowledge of a deal.

The revelation threatens to engulf Trump in one of the most tawdry and legally damaging scandals of his presidency and has provoked astonished reactions from ethics experts.

Daniels' lawyer called the admission "stunning" and said: "This is not about sex ... this is about a cover-up."

Daniels, whose real name is Stephanie Clifford, claims she had a sexual encounter with Trump in 2006 -months after his third wife, Melania, gave birth - and was paid to stay silent as part of a nondisclosure agreement she is now seeking to invalidate.

Trump told reporters on Air Force One last month that he did not know about the \$130,000 payment to Daniels - made by his lawyer Michael Cohen days before the 2016 presidential election - or the source of the money.

But the former New York mayor Rudy Giuliani, who has recently joined Trump's White House legal team, said on television on Wednesday that Trump had indeed reimbursed Cohen for the payment. That led to the president reversing his position in an extraordinary sequence of tweets, just hours before leading a national day of prayer at the White House.

Federal investigators wiretapped Cohen's phone lines before a raid on his offices, hotel room and home last month as part of a federal criminal investigation in New York, NBC News reported yesterday, citing sources familiar with the legal proceedings.

The New York investigation is an offshoot of the ongoing inquiry by the US special counsel, Robert Mueller, into Russian meddling in the 2016 election and whether the Trump campaign colluded with Moscow.

At 6.46am yesterday, Trump tweeted, in uncharacteristically legalminded language, that Cohen had received a monthly retainer. "Not from the campaign and having nothing to do with the campaign, from which he entered into, through reimbursement ... a non-disclosure agreement with Daniels." He claimed: "These agreements are ... very common among celebrities and people of wealth."

Trump described the allegations of an affair as "false and extortionist", adding: "Money from the campaign,  $or \, campaign \, contributions, played \, no$ roll [sic] in this transaction.

 $But\,watch dogs\, and\, experts\, argued$ that, despite his contention that no money from his campaign was used to pay off Daniels, Trump still broke campaign finance laws by failing to declare the secret payment to the Federal Election Commission. No debt to Cohen is listed on Trump's personal financial disclosure form, which was certified on 16 June 2017.

Walter Shaub, the former director of the Office of Government Ethics, tweeted: "AMAZING! In trying to talk his way out of a campaign finance violation, Trump has inadvertently admitted to filing a false financial disclosure in 2017. He personally certified that his disclosure was 'complete and correct'. This seems like as strong a circumstantial case for a violation as one is going to see. It is absolutely stunning that we've reached the point where the



▲ Donald Trump at a national day of prayer event at the White House

president of the United States appears to have lied to US Office of Government Ethics about a payoff to a porn star."

Norm Eisen, who chairs Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics, which has already filed a criminal complaint, tweeted: "This dope & evidently his lawyers do not -despite everything $understand\,how\,campaign\,finance\,law$ works. Whole point is that money came from outside the campaign & benefitted it. That is the illegal 'roll' under review. No one saying it was campaign money."

There can be criminal or civil pen-

alties for violating campaign finance laws, although it is unclear what fresh angle of investigation, if any, could be prompted by the latest developments.

Trump's tweets outlining the arrangement came after the bombshell interview by Giuliani, who was presumably seeking to reduce the president's legal exposure - a plan that may have backfired.

Giuliani told Fox host Sean Hannity: "They funnelled through a law firm, and the president repaid it... That was money that was paid by his lawyer. The president reimbursed that over the period of several months.'

Asked if Trump knew about the arrangement, Giuliani said: "He didn't know about the specifics of it, as far as I know. But he did know about the general arrangement, that Michael would take care of things like this, like I take care of things like this for my clients. I don't burden them with every single thing that comes along. These are busy people."

Speaking on Fox and Friends on the same network yesterday, Giuliani said Trump did not know all the details until "maybe 10 days ago". He added: 'Cohen made it go away. He did his job ... I think when Cohen heard \$130,000, he said, 'My God, this is cheap'."

**♦ Continued** from page 1

#### Nobel economists warn Trump: don't return US to 1930s

delivered 90 years ago: "In 1930, 1,028 economists urged Congress to reject the protectionist Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act." Many economists believe that act - which, like Trump's tariffs, was designed to protect US industry - was one of the triggers for the Great Depression.

The 1930 letter predicted higher prices for consumers, damage to domestic industries that relied on trade, an impact on farmers and retaliation from countries targeted for tariffs.

Yesterday's letter says: "Congress did not take economists' advice in 1930, and Americans across the country paid the price". It urges Trump "not to repeat that mistake".

On the campaign trail and since taking office, Trump has threatened to dismantle decades of trade deals, including the North American Free Trade Agreement (Nafta). The president has blamed Nafta for hollowing out the US manufacturing base.

The economists and academics say: "Much has changed since 1930 - for example, trade is now significantly more important to our economy - but the fundamental economic principles as explained at the time have not.

"Today, Americans face a host of new protectionist activity, including threats to withdraw from trade agree ments, misguided calls for new tariffs in response to trade imbalances, and the imposition of tariffs on washing machines, solar components, and even steel and aluminum used by US manufacturers."

They say workers in construction, hotels, retail, banks and other businesses would "clearly lose" in a trade war. The letter, organised by the conservative National Taxpayers' Union, is signed by Nobel laureates including Alvin Roth, Richard Thaler, Oliver Hart, Roger Myerson and James Heckman as well as Jason Furman, ex-chair of the Council of Economic Advisors to Barack Obama, and James Miller, budget director to Ronald Reagan.

Bryan Riley, director of the NTU's Free Trade Initiative, who coordinated the letter, said Trump and the former Democratic presidential hopeful Bernie Sanders had both ratcheted up the argument against free trade ahead of the election. He said many of the arguments against free trade were "flat earth economics" that threatened the balance of the global economy.

"People look at the changes that have gone on in the economy and blame free trade for, say, the decline in manufacturing when in fact the changes have more to do with automation," he said.

He insisted the pressure to impose tariffs was not coming from voters: "If you look at opinion polls, the [anti-free trade] message is not being driven by public opinion. This is not a grassroots movement against imports or Nafta. This is being driven from the top."

If Trump's rhetoric translated into afull trade war, the consequences could be dire because "we rely more on international trade than at any point in world history".

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#### Breast cancer alarm Hunt criticised over statement to MPs

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Linda's pictures McCartney archive donated to V&A Page 19



# **National**



#### Keep your eyes peeled

The artist Hilary Jack puts finishing touches to Look Out, part of The Messenger, four sitespecific works at Mellerstain House, near Kelso, responding to the politics and history of the Scottish Borders. Look Out refers to the fortified 'peel towers' of the area.

PHOTOGRAPH: MURDO



# Teenagers who hated school planned to re-enact Columbine massacre, court told

#### Josh Halliday

North of England correspondent

Two teenagers, aged 14, planned to kill pupils and teachers at their North Yorkshire school after developing an "obsessive interest" in the Columbine massacre, a court has heard.

A jury at Leeds crown court was told the boys "hero worshipped" the Columbine high-school killers in Colorado, US, and planned a "reenactment" in Northallerton.

Paul Greaney QC, prosecuting, told jurors: "They intended to shoot and kill other pupils and teachers against whom they held a grievance. They also, like their heroes, intended to deploy explosives and researched bomb-making techniques to that end."

The boys, who are now 15 and cannot be named because of their age, sat by their mothers and court security officers as their trial began yesterday. They both deny conspiracy to murder.

Jurors were told that the two friends had researched bomb-making techniques and begun building a stockpile of weapons before counter-terrorism police swooped in October 2017.

The elder of the boys, described as the ringleader, wrote in his diary about planning "one of the worst atrocities in British history" and said: "Fuck, I hate my school. I will obliterate it. I will kill everyone."

Besides drawings of a swastika and heavily armed man, the boy told of his love for the cult leader Charles Manson and the teenagers Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, who murdered 13 people at Columbine in 1999. He described his own life as a "miserable existence, full of torment and macabre themes".

He wrote that he had a "strange fixation with terrible people, ie murderers" and referred to Harris on his Instagram profile, the court heard. He dressed like Harris, Greaney said, as he

"sought to emulate" the Columbine killer's "trenchcoat mafia" persona.

In his diary the boy wrote in October that he had been planning a mass killing for more than a year but it developed when he met his girlfriend that summer. The girl, 14, told police she initially liked him but that he became controlling and scared her. The boy is accused of unlawfully wounding the girl by carving his name into her back with a penknife at his hideout in Catterick Garrison, where police later discovered ignitable fluids and screws, allegedly for a nail bomb.

When the girl's parents stopped contact between the pair due to his "malign influence", he made diary entries about torturing them to death, stealing her father's legally held shotguns and making explosives to "begin our assault on that fucking school".

He wrote: "They're keeping us apart because they think I'm crazy. I'm not crazy. I'm in love." That month he was

arrested after entering his girlfriend's bedroom at midnight dressed as Harris and carrying a large kitchen knife with "love" written on it.

Greaney told jurors the boy probably expected to be able to attack as they slept but fled when he was confronted by his girlfriend's mother. The school attack plot grew more serious, he said, when the boys downloaded a bombmaking manual and began researching ways to buy firearms on the dark web.

Over 14 hours last October, he said, the elder boy made 30 searches on the web about Columbine, nail bombs, shotguns and buying ammunition.

'Why not take some others out as well? ... shoot up the school'

Boy accused in trial to his fellow defendant

The younger boy drew up a hitlist of pupils and teachers to kill, the court heard. In a text, he told his co-accused: "I can't be bothered any more." The other replied: "Why not take some others out as well? If you're gonna kill yourself, shoot up the school."

The alleged plot began to unravel in September when the younger boy told classmates what they were planning, the jury heard. A friend alerted her teacher to a text the boy had sent her saying he was serious about the plan but that "no one innocent will die".

The court was told the boy confessed to the deputy headteacher and police the same day, admitting that they had planned to kill pupils who bullied them. The older boy denied everything and they were not arrested.

A month later police seized the eldest boy's diary and found a rucksack with a balaclava, screws, cable ties and a bottle of liquid. The teenager denied planning to kill his girfriend's parents or pupils and teachers at his school.

The younger boy told police he had been manipulated and had only been "going along" with the talk as a joke.

Greaney said jurors had to consider whether it was just fantasy or a genuine plot to kill. The prosecution's case is that there was a real plan.

The trial continues.

#### National

Police sack undercover officer who had sex with campaigner

#### **Rob Evans**

An undercover officer who had an unauthorised sexual relationship with an environmental campaigner has been dismissed from the police after a disciplinary hearing.

Jim Boyling, who infiltrated leftwing groups for five years, was found guilty of gross misconduct. He is the first undercover officer sent to spy on political groups who is known to have been dismissed by the police for

sexual misconduct. The campaigner, who wishes to remain anonymous and is known as Laura, said: "This is an important verdict today, not only to protect the public from Boyling taking such roles in future but also to send a message out far and wide to other officers that such conduct is totally unacceptable."

Yesterday, the Metropolitan police said Boyling's conduct had been "unacceptable", following the fourday disciplinary hearing, which was held in private.

Boyling, who did not attend the

hearing and has denied wrongdoing, previously criticised the Metropolitan police for picking on him and seeking to justify the large amount of taxpayers' money spent on investigating the covert infiltration of political groups.

The undercover officer, who had been a detective constable in the Met's counter-terrorism command, is also facing a legal attempt to get him prosecuted for deceiving another woman into a sexual relationship during his covert deployment.

Police chiefs have claimed that undercover officers were not

permitted to form relationships with campaigners they were assigned to spy on. However, the police spies did so frequently. Some have left the police and are not subject to disciplinary proceedings, while the Met refused to say if others have been disciplined.

The misconduct panel was held seven years after Boyling was exposed as an undercover officer when Laura disclosed details of their relationship to the Guardian.

Boyling's lawyers said he had been told that he had been dismissed and did not wish to comment.



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# Immigration official tells man: 'I've done my job if you're pissed off'

#### **Diane Taylor**

The Home Office is investigating undercover footage filmed at one of its reporting centres showing an official telling a man facing deportation that his job is to "piss him off" as part of what he calls a "challenging environment".

The 39-year-old man who secretly filmed the Home Office official last year has now voluntarily gone to Pakistan, a country where he has only spent one month of his life, saying he was driven out by the controversial regime.

The man was required to report weekly to Becket House, a Home Office reporting centre at London Bridge. He had served a 13-month prison term and although the Home Office had signed a deportation order it had failed to remove him to Pakistan, instead requiring him to report weekly to Becket House while depriving him of the right to work, rent housing, drive a car or access NHS treatment.

In the clip the man tells the Home Office official that having to report weekly is worse than his time in prison. The official tells the man he's going to talk to him "on the level". The official

'My aim is to make it a challenging environment for you'

Home Office official Undercover footage

then says: "What you got to understand, yeah, you take the piss out of the system, the system is going to take the piss out of you. We are not here to make life easy for you. It's a challenging environment we have got to make for people. It's working because it's pissing you off. Am I right? There you go. That's my aim at the end of the day, to make it a challenging environment for you. It's pissing you off. You're telling me it's pissed you off. There you go, I've done my job."

When the Guardian asked the Home Office if it was instructing its staff to make the environment challenging for migrants by "pissing them off" a spokesman said: "The views expressed in this video do not represent Home Office policy."

sent Home Office policy."

The man's solicitor, Fahad Ansari from Duncan Lewis Solicitors, said: "The challenging environment mentioned by the immigration officer appears to be a reference to Theresa May's 'hostile environment' policy. The rationale behind this policy is to create an environment so utterly soul destroying to live in that people will voluntarily leave the UK."

When Sajid Javid was appointed home secretary this week after Amber Rudd resigned following the Guardian's reporting on the Windrush scandal and an ensuing row over targets, he said the phrase "hostile environment" was unhelpful. "The phrase 'hostile' is a phrase I'm not going to use," he said. "It's a compliant environment ... it doesn't represent our values as a country to use that phrase."

The man who recorded the video, who has mental health problems and has been self-harming, was jailed for criminal damage and blackmail. He faced deportation because he had committed a crime. Although he had lived in the UK since the age of 18 with indefinite leave to remain, he had not naturalised as a British citizen, which would have prevented him being deported after finishing his sentence.

He is appealing against the deportation order signed by the Home Office from Pakistan. He has lived in Britain since the age of 18 with indefinite leave to remain, and leaves behind his elderly parents and three brothers, all of whom are British citizens. As a child he lived in the US and Saudi Arabia.

A Home Office spokesman said: "We are investigating the footage."

▼ A mourner gestures at press photographers as police monitor the funeral cortege





# Violence flares at funeral of Hither Green intruder

#### **Damien Gayle**

A teenager has been arrested on suspicion of assault after violent scenes at the funeral of Henry Vincent, the intruder stabbed in a struggle with a 78-year-old householder.

Hundreds of mourners gathered at St Mary's church in St Mary Cray, south-east London, for the service yesterday morning. Vincent was stabbed with a screwdriver by Richard Osborn-Brooks, whose home in Hither Green, Lewisham, he entered on the morning of 4 April.

Concerns had been raised that Vincent's funeral could lead to a confrontation between the bereaved and supporters of Osborn-Brooks. Following the killing, a bitter row developed over a shrine set up in Vincent's memory opposite the house. The shrine was repeatedly desecrated.

Police intervened after mourners surrounding Vincent's cortege hurled eggs, drinks cans and stones at reporters, then charged. One photographer was punched while other journalists and a passerby were hit with eggs. Officers eventually advised journalists and the public to leave the area.

Several dozen police, including liaison officers, were at St Mary's church before the arrival of the cortege. Nearby lamp-posts were adorned with bouquets of flowers tied with red ribbon. Pubs in the area were closed in

anticipation of potential trouble after the funeral, the Guardian was told.

Mourners, some covering their faces, began arriving at the church from 11.30am. One woman shouted: "Leave us alone, we're burying our child," shortly before a drink can was hurled. Other mourners arrived armed with eggs.

Police cleared the area immediately outside the entrance to the church after mourners said there would be "big trouble" if reporters were on the scene when the hearse arrived. Several minutes later an officer said: "Listen to me. I would suggest you go, now."

Vincent's cortege, a procession of





▲ Eggs were thrown at journalists and photographers covering the funeral of Henry Vincent, above, in south-east London Photograph: Tony Kershaw/swns

cars, limousines and a flatbed truck carrying flowers, passed the church at least twice before the service began. On its first appearance one mourner threw water from the window over a photographer and flicked a V-sign. "The king is dead," shouted another.

Vincent's coffin was accompanied by a white floral arrangement spelling out "Daddy". It was followed by a convoy of vehicles, each with its own floral tribute on top, including a caravan and a boxing ring.

Despite police reassurance that the funeral procession would not enter into Lewisham, one resident used his car to block the entrance to South Park Crescent, where Osborn-Brooks lived.

The resident said he had decided to park there despite the police guidance. He said: "There is the possibility that they might bring the body down in a hearse first and do a pass-by and then go back and have the actual funeral [elsewhere]."

He later left the scene, but a police van with a handful of officers inside parked near the entrance to the road.

The Metropolitan police said the decision to send officers to the south-east London street was for "community reassurance" after reports that Vincent's friends and family would march through the area in an act of defiance.

Osborn-Brooks was initially arrested on suspicion of murder but later released without charge. His arrest provoked a public outcry, and an online campaign to support him raised thousands of pounds.

Asked about arrests at the funeral, a Met police spokeswoman said: "A male, believed to be in his teens, was arrested on suspicion of assault following an incident in High Street, Orpington ... he has been released under investigation to return to a police station at a later date."

#### Bercow raged and called me an antisemite, says former Black Rod

#### **Heather Stewart**

Political editor

The Speaker of the House of Commons has faced fresh allegations of bullying, with parliament's former Black Rod warning that his "intemperate behaviour" is "unworthy of someone in public office".

David Leakey, who stepped down last year as Black Rod, a ceremonial post in parliament, said he had experienced the outbursts of temper described by other former members of Bercow's staff.

"On one occasion, he quite suddenly erupted in a rage, banging the table and being extremely and personally rude to me, including calling me an antisemite. He did apologise to me for that specific remark afterwards, but not for his other highly personal insults, and it is intolerable," he told Politics Home.

"His explosive and intemperate behaviour is legendary, objectionable and unworthy of someone in such public office - conduct which may not stand up to the standards expected in public life. There were lots of people who were, frankly, terrified of the Speaker."

This follows claims from Angus Sinclair, Bercow's former private secretary, who told Newsnight that the Speaker was prone to "over-the-top anger", and he was "not sure he was completely in control of it".

He claimed Bercow had undermined him in front of other staff and once smashed a mobile phone over his desk. Sinclair also alleged that he was paid more than £85,000 when he left his job, in a deal that required him not to speak about his experiences.

Theresa May has called for the "concerning" allegations against the Speaker by former members of staff to be fully investigated, but Bercow chairs the House of Commons commission, which ultimately oversees parliament's staff.

Andrea Leadsom, the leader of the House of Commons, has suggested the inquiry into harassment in parliament, being carried out by the former judge Dame Laura Cox, could be expanded to take in the new allegations.

Leadsom said: "It is for Dame Laura to consider whether the terms of reference of her independent inquiry need to be expanded, to allow for individual investigations to take place. I'm sure she will be looking very carefully at how best to respond to these latest developments."

But an inquiry spokesman said it was not set up to investigate individual allegations of wrongdoing, and had no power to widen its scope.

Bercow has strenuously denied the allegations, and he refused to make a public statement in the Commons yesterday about them, when urged to do so by Maria Miller, chair of the women and equalities select committee.

National Kew Gardens

▼ The Temperate House was begun in 1859, the same year that Darwin's On the Origin of Species was published PHOTOGRAPH: ALICIA CANTER/GUARDIAN



# 'Breathtaking'

# Temperate House sheds its chrysalis after £41m refurb



◀ Kew Garden's Temperate House is the largest Victorian glasshouse in the world, and home to some of the world's rarest plants PHOTOGRAPH: ALICIA CANTER/GUARDIAN Victorian triumph of iron and glass is fully visible for the first time in a generation after five-year restoration

#### **Oliver Wainwright**

eral goats are the biggest threat to the rare cabbage tree, says a sign in Kew Gardens' newly restored Temperate House, the largest Victorian glasshouse in the world, which reopens this week after a £41m, five-year renovation. Goats were never much of a threat at Kew, where the endangered tree has been carefully cultivated since a specimen was found on Robinson Crusoe Island near Chile. But rusting iron columns and creaky windows had posed a significant danger, to plants and humans alike.

A government report concluded in 2010 that "urgent restoration is essential if closure is to be avoided". Windows had been sealed shut in a 1970s refurbishment and chunks of masonry cladding were crumbling off. The past five years have seen 69,000 elements removed and repaired, with 15,000 panes of glass

replaced, all under a tent big enough to hold three Boeing 747s. The result is suitably breathtaking.

Those who remember being surrounded on all sides by dense forest might be shocked by the pruning. For the first time since it opened in 1862, the entire contents of the beds have been removed, soil and all, and the layout made more akin to the Victorian original.

Ten thousand plants have been replaced with younger specimens, while some famous residents have been carefully returned after spending the last few years in a temporary nursery. Kew's rarest (and loneliest) plant, a male Wood's cycad, is back, still awaiting the discovery of a female of the species in an untrodden corner of the planet.

Compared with the previous overgrown riot, it now feels more as if the architecture, rather than the plants, is the star of the show. "It was heartbreaking to see some of the trees go," says Kew's aptly named Greg Redwood, head of glasshouses. "But some of them were hitting the roof, and it was very difficult to raise new specimens under the thick canopy." In addition, after years of pruning, many of the plants were in effect bonsai, he said. The cull means that Decimus Burton's triumph of iron and glass

is fully visible for the first time in a generation. Cast-iron columns support great arcing ribs of wrought iron that leap across the space, their detail visible up close from the upper-level walkway that rings the main pavilion, providing precipitous views down to the canopy.

The ironwork has been repaired and recast in places, the decades of paintwork scrubbed off and repainted with five coats of the hardwearing stuff used on oil rigs. Outside, the plasterwork details, previously obliterated by years of gloopy paint, are visible once again: cornucopias heave with pomegranates, pineapples and soursops, while terracotta baskets (which disguise historic chimney flues) brim with moulded flowers.

Begun in 1859, the same year that Darwin's On the Origin of Species was published, the Temperate House was to be the crowning glory of Kew, a five-pavilion complex stretching almost 200 metres atop a raised berm, like a fleet of crystal tankers processing across the lawn.

It was planned to be the first thing visitors would see as they entered the gardens, standing at the end of the avenue from the station as a stately beacon. "It was Burton's tomb to himself, twice the size of his Palm House," says Amy Felton,



**◀** The layout has been made more akin to the Victorian original, and 10,000 plants have been replaced PHOTOGRAPH: ALICIA CANTER/GUARDIAN





project architect. However, during 'It's Decimus the parliamentary debate to allocate **Burton's** funding, the influential politician tomb to and greenhouse impresario Joseph Paxton insisted the building could be himself.. erected for a third of the requested like many budget. He warned that Kew was in danger of turning into "a gaudy flower garden". No doubt concerned by the prospect of competition for to plan' his own Crystal Palace, his objection carried weight and the Treasury only sanctioned £10,000 of the £30,000 requested. The station did not

away from the entrance. By the time of Burton's death in 1881, only the central pavilion had been completed. The unfinished building was described as a "chronic eyesore" and it would take another 18 years to see the full thing finished, by which time it had outlived two directors and its architect. Compared with the startling futurism of his Palm House, an ethereal soap bubble formed from great sheets of curved glass, the Temperate House was deemed to be rather prosaic.

materialise where expected either:

it was built 500 metres to the north,

leaving the glasshouse stranded,

For the modern visitor, the protracted process brings added interest, with the latest trends embodied in its different wings Acanthus-leaf column capitals give

buildings, it didn't quite go according **Amy Felton** 

way to a simpler, stripped-back structure in the southern pavilion, while floral motifs on the wroughtiron trusses in the main house are later exchanged for plain circles and triangles. Windows operated with ratchets shaped like pterodactyl wings in the north pavilion become simpler elbow mechanisms in the south. In Burton's day, the whole thing was glazed in green glass, thought by the Victorians to prevent scorching from the sun, while the ironwork, far from always being pristine white, has ranged from pale blue to dark green and brown.

The renovations have opened up hundreds of clerestory windows that were fixed shut in the 1970s, and installed lower-level apron vents, providing better cross-ventilation. Heating has been added in a new sunken trench, creating a more even atmosphere and allowing Kew to grow a broader range of plants. Wider central pathways allow access for cherry-picker cranes, and a large crossing in the middle has clearly been sized with event hire in mind.

For now, it's all a little too stark. But the future of the building has been secured, and, given that some plants may not mature for another 75 years, you can be assured that your grandchildren will have the pleasure of seeing them at their best.

## ◀A Strelitzia reginae, the

bird-of-paradise

flower, in the

House at Kew

Temperate

**◀**15,000 panes of glass were replaced PHOTOGRAPHS: ALICIA CANTER/GUARDIAN; GARETH GARDNER

#### Sex remains a key part of life for people over 65, study says

#### **Nicola Davis**

Sex is not only a pursuit of the young and carefree but also a key part of life for adults in their later years, research has revealed.

In a survey of Americans aged 65 to 80, 40% reported being sexually active, with more than half of those who had a partner saving they still engage in steamy moments.

Erica Solway, a public health expert from Michigan University who was involved in the research, said: "We recognise that sex and sexual health is something that is very important to the health and wellbeing of older people but is not something that gets a lot of attention." That, said Solway, could be because either individuals or medical professionals do not raise the issue.

The findings, part of the university's National Poll on Healthy Aging, are based on online answers from about 1,000 participants aged 65 to 80, and are nationally representative. The study was funded by Michigan Medicine - part of the university - and AARP, a lobby group for older people.

The results reveal that 84% of men and 69% of women between 65 and 80 believe sex is important to a relationship at any age, with just over half of men and just under a third of women reporting that they were sexually active - although the researchers did not spell out what that involved. "We wanted it to be how that person defined it," said Solway.

One in eight of the women reported a strong interest in sex, and more than half of men said the same. Fewer men than women were "extremely or very"

happy with their sex life. Age was another key factor: only a quarter of those aged 76-80 reported being sexually active, compared with 46% of those aged 65-70.

The authors say the report shows that although sex is important for many older adults, the topic is rarely discussed with either their partners or doctors - just 17% of participants said they had talked about it with a health provider in the past two years, despite almost two-thirds saying they would be happy to do so.

Solway said the lack of discussion was important, not least because such conversations could increase testing and awareness of sexually transmitted infections. According to UK figures, diagnoses of infections such as chlamydia are rising among older adults.

What's more, 18% of men and 3% of women in the 65-80 age group reported taking medications or supplements to improve their sexual function. "It is possible that there could be interactions with other medications they are taking," Solway warned. Another issue is that although sex appears to protect women's cardiovascular system, the opposite is true for men.

Lesley Carter, of Age UK, said the report chimed with findings from Britain and that it was time to get rid of misconceptions about sex in older age.

It was important that medics broached the topic with patients, she said. "We know as younger people if you don't get [sex] enough then you are quite miserable, but that is the same thing in older people.

"We as a society have to agree that older people have a right to good sexual health too because every message is always about younger people."

#### **Bristol University** confirms sudden death of student

#### Sally Weale

Education correspondent

A fourth-year engineering student at the University of Bristol has died suddenly, the university has said.

University authorities said they had been informed of the death of Alex Elsmore, which reportedly took place on 21 April, and urged people affected by the news to seek support. A university spokesman said there appeared to be no suspicious circumstances and an inquest would be held in due course.

"We would encourage any students or staff who are affected by this tragic news to contact university support services, as well as seek support from friends or family. Information about the help and support available can be found on our website under our staff and student pages."

The university later confirmed that a second student had died suddenly, but gave no further information on the death.

Seven students have killed

themselves in less than 18 months at Bristol University, Five students took their lives in a single academic year. three within weeks of each other.

The university's vice-chancellor, Hugh Brady, pointed out in a recent interview with the Guardian that almost every university has a number of suicides every year and mental health problems among students are a problem across the sector.

Bristol has invested an extra £1m in mental health services, and proposals to reduce live-in support in halls of residence were amended after an outcry. Concerns remain among some members of the university about the plans due to be introduced in September.

A spokesman said: "We have spoken to Alex's family, who have requested privacy at this very difficult time. Our thoughts are with them."

Samaritans can be reached on 116 123



▲ Engineering student Alex Elsmore is reported to have died on 21 April



# Love it for Less



Spend it Well

## Finland contests claims over Scotland baby box after expert's warning

#### **Severin Carrell**

Scotland editor

The Finnish benefits agency that pioneered the use of baby boxes has challenged claims in Scotland that the cribs can reduce infant mortality.

The agency, Kela, supported warnings by an expert on infant health, Dr Pete Blair, that it was wrong to say Finland's scheme had been proven to prevent or reduce infant mortality.

Blair said baby boxes should only be used as a bed for babies in an emergency or when no cot was available.

His warnings, reported by the Guardian on Wednesday, prompted a furious outburst by Nicola Sturgeon's official spokesman. He denounced reports of the criticism as "absolutely ludicrous" and "nonsense".

Sturgeon unveiled the baby-box scheme two years ago, saying they would cut infant mortality - a claim that has been repeated by other Scottish National party (SNP) leaders.

At the height of the 2016 Scottish parliament elections, the first minister told the SNP's spring conference: "This simple but powerful idea originated in Finland. It provides practical help for parents and has reduced infant mortality and improved child health."

But Kela, the Finnish welfare and benefits agency, told the Guardian they had never made that claim and there was no evidence to support it.

"We don't want to promote the idea that there is evidence the baby box as such has decreased infant mortality in Finland or that Finland has made such claims. Rather, it has been the improving of our healthcare system, which the baby box is a part of, that our low

'Data on the effect on infant mortality does not exist'

**Spokesperson** *Finnish welfare agency* 

infant mortality can be attributed to," a Kela spokesperson said.

"Empirical data on the effect of the maternity package on infant mortality does not exist."

Sturgeon was asked by the Scottish Conservatives at first minister's questions yesterday about a statement from the British Standards Institution disputing her government's statements that its boxes met safety standards as cribs and cots.

The BSI said no such standards existed for cardboard baby boxes. The government responded by citing the safety certificates. Those showed that the cardboard used for the box was tested under toy safety legislation, and not under safety standards for cribs and cots.

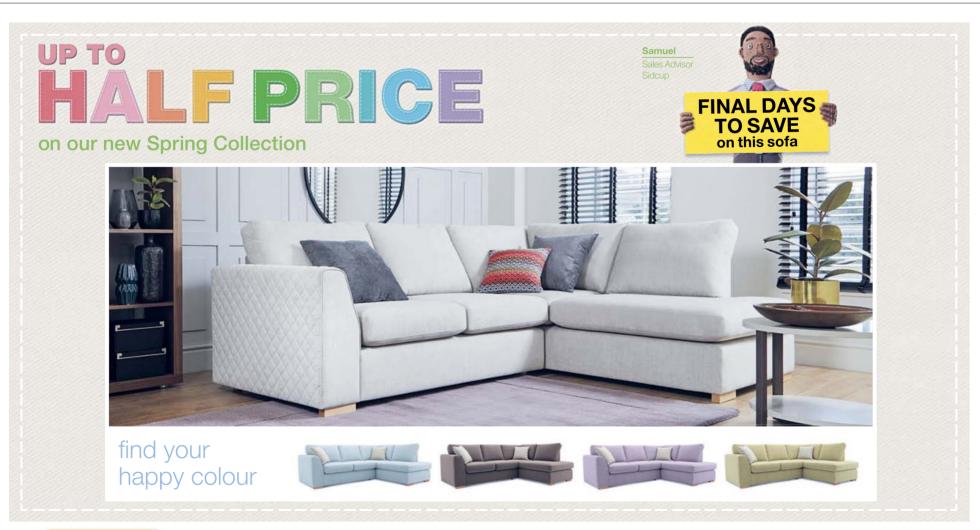
The first minister said the Tories "should be deeply ashamed of themselves for needlessly trying to frighten parents". She said the boxes met all relevant safety standards, including for fire safety and mattress quality.

Asked about the Finnish agency's remarks, Sturgeon's spokesman refused to discuss the basis of her claims in 2016 or to disclose the evidence that led her to make them.

The Scottish government said: "The babybox is accompanied by other improvements to the support available to new and expecting parents and offers health professionals the opportunity to engage with parents at timely intervals throughout pregnancy."



PHOTOGRAPH: EAMONN MCCORMACK/GETTY **Clothes on spin** Performers from the Lost in Translation Circus rehearse for Wandsworth Arts Fringe, which starts today and runs until 20 May in the south London borough.





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#### **National**

# Only a fifth of tampon tax funds given to women's charities

#### Damien Gayle

Only two in 10 charities awarded funding from the government's tampon tax are women's organisations, despite a pledge to dedicate £15m a year raised from the levy to "women's health and support charities".

Rape Crisis and Women's Aid were the only two organisations specifically serving women to be funded from the annual tampon tax disbursement, receiving less than £3m between them. Other groups funded included UK Community Foundations, the mental health charity Mind, Brook Young People and two housing associations.

The situation was repeated in the distribution last month of £600,000 to celebrate the centenary of the first women winning the vote, when just two of the eight organisations funded focused solely on women's needs.

Vivienne Hayes, chief executive of the Women's Resource Centre, said the government had political reasons for overlooking women's charities. "They know we are the ones that will critique them and hold them to account," she said. "I think it's not surprising that the women's sector has been sidelined and the mainstream organisations that say 'we work with women' have been given the money."

The government promised to use the money raised from the 5% VAT on tampons and sanitary towels to fund the women's sector after activists led a campaign against the levy in 2015. In response to demands for its abolition, George Osborne, then the chancellor, pleaded impotence against EU regulations. He pledged the government

would try to change the rules, and said: "Until that happens, I'm going to use the £15ma year to fund women's health and support charities."

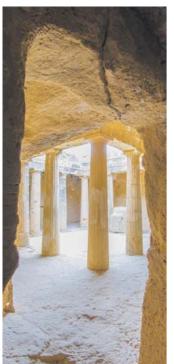
Hayes said the women's sector was starved of resources and generalist charities offering services that targeted women could not replace specialist providers.

Tracey Crouch, minister for sport and civil society, said: "The money generated from sanitary products is being invested in good causes that tackle the serious issues that women of all ages face."

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# Delivery firm accused of pushing managers to mislead tax inspectors

#### **Robert Booth**

HM Revenue and Customs is considering allegations that the parcel delivery company Hermes "coerced" managers into misleading an official investigation into whether the company had paid some of its self-employed couriers below the "national living wage".

The tax authority ensures employers pay at least the minimum and launched an investigation into Hermes in 2016 after the Guardian revealed some couriers were earning less than £6 an hour, below the £7.20 minimum at the time.

Hermes delivers for Marks & Spencer and John Lewis, and relies on about 15,000 "lifestyle couriers" who are paid per delivery and are categorised as self-employed, but many believe they should be classed as workers and earn the national minimum.

A manager at the company has claimed that before a tax inspectors' visit last year senior Hermes managers coached staff who were about to be interviewed.

"If we gave an answer to the manager we were corrected and told not to say that but to say something more positive," the anonymous whistle-blower said in a letter to Frank Field MP, the chair of the Commons work and pensions select committee, which has also investigated Hermes.

"We were coerced into saying something which wasn't true. Most of which related to self-employed couriers and how they were treated."

The manager claims Hermes "went out of their way" to bring in senior staff "to purposely tell us what to say".

Hermes said it categorically denies that any coaching or coercion had

£6

Hourly rate some Hermes couriers fell below, according to a Guardian investigation in 2016

**15,000** 

The number of 'lifestyle couriers' used by Hermes. They are classed as self-employed and paid per delivery

taken place and said it told managers tasked with briefing staff who were meeting HMRC inspectors not to "lead the individuals to answer in any particular way".

Field has forwarded the manager's allegations to HMRC, saying: "Hermes appears to have coerced its management staff into supplying information to HMRC that is untrue and which offers an inaccurate representation of the couriers' employment relationship with the company."

The chief executive of HMRC, Jon Thompson, replied: "We value receiving the kind of information you have given us. Clamping down on those who try to cheat the system through evading taxes is a key priority for us ... We assess all the information we receive before making a decision on the most appropriate course of action."

One of the tax implications of self-employment in this case is that Hermes does not have to pay employers' national insurance contributions of 13.8% on a worker's earnings above £162 a week.

Hermes said: "All employees were asked to cooperate fully with HMRC as we are confident in our operating model."

It added that "HMRC is highly skilled at recognising if 'coaching' has taken place" and said that it urged managers to tell staff "to be open and honest with HMRC".

Hermes is facing an employment tribunal claim this week from a group of couriers who say they should be classified as workers, and that as a consequence of this they should be entitled to holiday pay and to receive the national living wage.

Last month the rival delivery firm DPD offered all its drivers sick and holiday pay. The move was part of wholesale reforms to its gig working model, following the death of a driver it charged for attending a medical appointment to treat his diabetes and who later collapsed and died.

The Hermes claim mirrors several other similar tribunal hearings - including verdicts in cases brought against Uber, Addison Lee, City Sprint, Excel and eCourier - where judges have ruled that staff should be given the legal classification as "workers", thereby receiving the minimum wage and holiday pay rights.

Hermes is contesting the claim.

▼ Jeremy Corbyn arrives to cast his vote at Pakeman primary school in



# Polling stations reject voters during trial of ID scheme

#### Peter Walker Matthew Weaver

A trial of voter ID has led to people in England being turned away from polling booths for the first time for not carrying the necessary documents. Other issues reported included abuse of voting staff and some confusion over what evidence needed to be shown.

The trial took place in five boroughs yesterday in the local elections as part of an attempt to crack down on voter impersonation. It could be extended nationwide in future elections.

The main issues appeared to be in Bromley and Woking where - along with Gosport in Hampshire - people had to show one piece of photo ID or two from a list of other documents. In the other test areas, Swindon and Watford, only a polling card was required.

In Bromley, south-east London, tallies by the opposition Labour group found at least 13 people turned away in just one ward, Crystal Palace. There were also reports of some voters being angry and abusive to polling station workers when asked to show ID.

In one reported case, a voting clerk had to turn away a man without the necessary documents even though he knew him personally.

In Woking in Surrey there was some confusion reported as to what ID could be shown, with one man saying he was initially told a photo rail pass was not allowed, even though it was listed among the accepted documents.



▲ Theresa and Philip May head to a polling station photograph: tom nicholson/lnp



▲ The mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, goes to vote with his wife, Saadiya

In Bradford - which is not part of the trial scheme - the council apologised to a couple who were asked for ID, saying a clerk had become confused.

The scheme has prompted concerns that it could disenfranchise more vulnerable voters who are less likely to have access to the necessary ID, for example, older people and those who are homeless.

Angela Wilkins, leader of the Labour group on Bromley council, said she was concerned that most reports about people being turned away seemed to be from Crystal Palace, the most deprived and diverse part of the borough.

"We assume tallies are being taken about how many people are refused at

each polling station, and if it turns out this is a particular problem in places like Crystal Palace it bears out some of the concerns we have raised," she said.

However, Stuart Wilks-Heeg, an expert on electoral integrity at the University of Manchester, said his observations at three polling stations in Woking, where two people were turned away, seemed to show the pilot was running fairly smoothly.

"Polling station staff [were] really well briefed and voters clearly knew about the requirements." he said.

He later went to Swindon, where staff scanned a barcode on voters' polling cards, and also saw few problems, though police were reportedly called when one man became irate at being asked to show his card.

In Bromley, most voters said they had few problems with the idea. A 92-year-old woman at a polling station in Penge, who gave her name only as Florence, said it had been no concern to show photo ID for the first time in more than 70 years of voting. "I don't care," she said. "If you've got nothing to hide it shouldn't be a problem."

The Cabinet Office argues that voter ID is necessary to prevent impersonation and has been recommended by the Electoral Commission.

But critics have said it is an overreaction to a marginal problem, with none of the five trial boroughs having reported a single incident of voter impersonation - known technically as personation - over the past decade.

A spokesman for the prime minister, asked about reports of some voters being turned away, said: "The overwhelming number of people are casting their vote without a problem.

"A great deal of work has been done in these pilot areas to prepare the public there. In places like Bromley, people will have had six pieces of direct mail about the pilot, and there has been a widespread poster campaign."



▲ One of the figures stolen from the Museum of East Asian Art, Bath

#### Bath museum reopens after priceless jade and gold items 'stolen to order'

#### **Steven Morris**

Staff at a museum in Bath have spoken of their heartbreak at the theft of priceless jade and gold artefacts as they prepare to open again with a bittersweet exhibition reflecting on health and wellbeing.

Detectives are still hunting a well organised gang of raiders who broke into the Museum of East Asian Art, a hidden jewel in one of Bath's Georgian terraces, last month.

The thieves entered through a first-floor window and broke into seven display cases containing "culturally significant" objects including jade figures. They ignored other items, suggesting the burglary was carefully planned and pieces may have been taken to order.

Nicole Chiang, the museum's curator, said: "Obviously it's very upsetting especially as our founder [the former lawyer and longtime resident of Hong Kong Brian McElney] lives in this area. It's very personal for him."

The museum upgraded its security in 2016 so that it could borrow objects from the British Museum but is having to review its arrangements again.

The gallery will re-open to the public tomorrow in time to celebrate its 25th anniversary, though the room that was burgled will be closed and the shattered display cabinets remain empty. Visitors will instead be treated to an exhibition by the Chinese artist Zhang Yanzi called The Quest for Wellness - an appropriate subject for Bath, which thanks to its hot springs has been an attraction to people seeking good health for many centuries.

The centrepiece of the exhibition is a silk robe that is brightly decorated in tablets. Another piece comprises gauze bandages daubed with cinnabar; a third is a collection of bracelets made from pills.

Wera Hobhouse, the Liberal Democrat MP for Bath, said small museums were the "lifeblood" of the city and needed to feel secure. "Bath is a city with lots of small museums," she said. "They help our city thrive."

**National** Health

# Breast cancer helplines flooded with anxious calls

#### Sarah Boseley

Health editor

Thousands of people flooded a breast cancer screening helpline with calls yesterday as experts warned that Jeremy Hunt, the health secretary, had made women unnecessarily anxious with his announcement that a computer failure had led to up to 270 avoidable deaths.

As the helpline set up by Public Health England dealt with more than 5,000 calls by midday, the charity Breast Cancer Care said it had also  $experienced\,a\,surge\,in\,calls\,to\,its\,own$ helpline, describing those getting in touch as confused and angry.

But amid confusion over the scale of the problem, it emerged that one of the country's leading statisticians had advised PHE after the issue surfaced in January that there was no need to apologise or recall women for mammograms that may or may not have been of benefit to them.

A "key need" in any statements from PHE, wrote Sir Richard Peto, professor of statistical medicine at Oxford University, in an email seen by the Guardian, was "to convey effectively the substantial uncertainty that has existed, and still exists, as to the exact ages at which mammographic screening should start and end".

The confusion at PHE, which oversees the screening programme, emerged in the wake of Hunt's statement to the House of Commons, where he apologised for a "major failure' that he blamed on a computer problem going back to 2009.

He said 450,000 women had not received letters inviting them for a final mammogram between the ages of 68 and 71, and that up to 270 women may have died of a breast cancer that could have been treated if it had been detected early.

Letters are being sent to 309,000 women who are said to have missed an invitation. Those aged 70 to 79 will be offered screening. But Cancer Research UK and scientists questioned

The women who are contacting us want answers. Many are playing a waiting game, not knowing if they've been affected'

Dr Emma Pennerv Breast Cancer Care whether women would have died because of the missed invitations and pointed to the harms that screening can cause, as well as benefits.

"I believe that the furore over the NHS breast screening programme error has resulted in unnecessary worry for those women who may not have received a breast screening invitation," said Paul Pharoah, professor of Cancer Epidemiology at the University of Cambridge.

"Breast cancer screening has both harms and benefits and so, if some people have not been invited for screening they will have avoided the harms as well as missing out on any benefits. There has been no mention of this at all in the coverage to date."

An independent UK panel on breast screening said in 2012 that for every death prevented, three breast cancers will have been over-diagnosed. "Detecting these very small early  $tumours\,might\,actually\,do\,more\,harm$ than good," Pharoah said.

"Some women with screendiagnosed breast cancer will have  $unnecessary\,mast ectomies, and\,some$ will have unnecessary radiotherapy.'

Sara Hiom of Cancer Research UK told the Guardian that although screening enables cancers to be caught and treated very early, they can be detected in other ways. Women go to see their GP if they feel a lump in their breast. "Women need to be reassured that the mortality risk from this failure is lower than is perhaps being discussed," she said.

Peto says there is no good evidence yet for the benefits of breast screening over the age of 70. A trial called AgeX has begun, based at Oxford University, recruiting women aged 71 to 73, to test whether lives would be saved or not. But screening women in their late 60s has never been trialled.

Hunt said compensation would be paid to women or families where it could be shown that the screening failure had resulted in damage to their health or death.

Dr Emma Pennery, clinical director at Breast Cancer Care, said: "After this appalling blunder, Breast Cancer Care's helpline is set to receive four times its usual number of calls by the end of the day. The women contacting us want answers. Many are playing a waiting game until the letters arrive, not knowing if they've been affected."

An inquiry chaired by Lynda Thomas, chief executive of Macmillan Cancer Research, and Martin Gore, professor of cancer medicine at the Royal Marsden, will investigate whether women have been harmed.

the number of those affected are in dispute and Hunt's rhetoric is beginning to look overheated in the light of an issue that officials have been wrangling over and trying to understand since January.

There isn't a scandal, those experts say. There is confusion.

Hunt said the issue goes back to 2009 but was detected in January, thanks to a new IT system introduced by Public Health England. That picked up that some women over the age of 68 had not been sent a letter inviting them for a last mammogram before their 71st birthday.

It would not have been noticed if it had not been for a trial, called AgeX, which was enrolling women to see whether screening should be extended from the current 50-70 vears to include women who were

AgeX, based at Oxford University, is the first trial of breast screening in the UK. The evidence that exists for its effectiveness in picking up cancers and reducing deaths comes from Scandinavia. Nobody in the world has run trials on women in

flagged in the NHS screening system not to receive any more routine mammograms. Some of them had their last one before they turned 68.

According to Sir Richard Peto, professor of medical statistics at Oxford University, and the statis-



# **Analysis** Why do experts say

## Hunt's statistics don't add up?

#### Sarah Boseley

eremy Hunt, the health secretary, described in apocalyptic terms the failure of the breast screening programme to invite some older women for a mammogram, warning of a possible 270 deaths and causing huge alarm among women and their families. He blamed those who have "oversight" of the NHS screening programme - now Public Health England - for what was described as a disastrous computer error that meant 450,000 women did not get vital letters calling them in.

either their late 60s or 70s until now. Women of 71 to 73 enrolled on AgeX are randomly assigned to more screening or not. The new IT system spotted that those women in the control arm (no screening) had been

But the numbers do not stack up, tician on AgeX, there were 80,000 say some experts with inside knowle women recruited in the pilot phase **Journal Gaby Hinsliff** *Page*  $3 \rightarrow$ both younger and older than that. edge. Both the mortality figures and between 2009 and 2015, and 80,000



more in the year 2016 to 2017. That means 40,000 women at the most - those randomly assigned to no more screening - could have lost out on a last invitation to have a mammogram. Some of those would have been 68 at their last screening, but some would have been 69 or 70.

That is a lot fewer than the 450,000 women said to have missed out on a final screening invitation.

The numbers got bigger when Public Health England looked back to 2009, using the new computer system which was able to see the detailed screening history of individual women for the first time. It found there were thousands who had not been invited after 68.

Peto says that was just the way the screening programme was set up to work. The invitations for screening were sent out every three years from every general practice. The final invitation, up to the age of 70 when routine screening stopped, would go to all the group of women who would turn 68 to 70 in that year who were invited three years previously.

With the new computer system, it is now possible to identify individual women who have not been

screened for a while, for instance because they have moved house and changed their GP practice. So invitations can be sent to those who have a screening gap.

The number of

deaths which the

health secretary

warned could

have occurred

screening error

due to the

But even if you include all of those women invited to a last mammogram before they were 68 - who were not missed by computer error but by the normal workings of the screening programme - the numbers do not reach 450,000, says Peto. Two million women reach the age of 70 in England each year. About one sixth of those called for final screening are 67 and turning 68 that year. "My guess is that about 300,000 is the real number," he said.

That is the number - 309,000 - that Hunt said were still alive out of the 450,000 affected and would be contacted with an offer of another mammogram.

Public Health England is unable to give details of how they got to 450,000 missed invitations. "It is based on modelling data," said a spokesperson. "It is an estimation. That's all we know at the present." Requests to speak to anybody with more knowledge were denied.

The figure for deaths - or as Hunt

■ Public Health England cannot say how it reached the total of 450,000 missed breast screening invitations
PHOTOGRAPH: GARO/PHANIE/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK

said, shortened lives - is also in dispute. "To be talking about deaths in this way was quite surprising," said Sara Hiom, of Cancer Research UK. "It was quite surprising that a health minister would be making such a statement quite that strongly."

The women will have missed an opportunity to have breast cancer detected by x-ray before they could be aware of it, but it may still have been picked up even at an early stage because it manifests as a lump in the breast. "Breast cancer does tend to have quite clear symptoms and there are excellent treatments even for late stage breast cancers," she said.

David Spiegelhalter, statistician and chair of the Winton Centre for Risk and Evidence Communication at Cambridge University, took issue with Hunt's statement that there could be "135 and 270 women who had their lives shortened". He gave several reasons "why this claim is misleading".

nly 15% of 70-year-old women die of breast cancer within five years of diagnosis, he pointed out - and "there is only weak evidence that screening helps prolong life, particularly for older women". And "contrary to popular belief, screening also does harm ... for every 200 women attending screening between 50 and 70, we would expect one to have her early death from breast cancer prevented, but three to be unnecessarily treated for a harmless cancer that would not have troubled them."

That treatment involves biopsies, and possibly surgery and drugs and a great deal of trauma for the women. The growing knowledge of the downside as well as the upside may be why only two-thirds of those invited for screening actually go.

Anybody over the age of 70 can request regular screening. But the questions are especially relevant to those in that age group. Screening may detect cancer but it may also pick up suspect cells in the breast that are either benign growths or are so slow-growing that they will not cause harm in the woman's lifetime.

That was the point of setting up AgeX - to find out whether it was better to screen or not to screen. That question was never asked before screening was rolled out beyond the original cut-off of 64.

"There isn't a scandal," said Peto.
"At what age should screening stop?
We don't know."



◀ Health professionals described the statement by Jeremy Hunt, the health secretary, as 'surprising' and 'misleading'

#### In brief

#### **Phone hacking**

#### MGN pays undisclosed damages to victims

The model Danielle Lloyd, the actor Jennifer Ellison and the former footballers Dwight Yorke and Andrew Cole have received undisclosed damages and an apology from Mirror Group Newspapers (MGN) over phone hacking. None of the four were at the high court in London yesterday for the settlement of their claims for the misuse of private information.

MGN apologised for any damage or distress suffered as a result of the unlawful interception of voicemail messages more than a decade ago.

Mark Elder, of the law firm Shoosmiths, said: "Our clients may be in the public eye but they have a right to a private life, which should be respected. A settlement has been reached with MGN and our clients are happy with the outcome." PA

#### Radio

#### Evans misses breakfast show after mother dies

Chris Evans yesterday pulled out of his Radio 2 breakfast show shortly before he was due to go air, after learning that his mother had died.

The sports reporter Vassos Alexander stepped in to host the show at the last minute.

"Chris has been here but he had to go just before we came on air," he told listeners. He's left me a little note for me to read out to you. This is a little bit difficult for me because we're talking about one of my best friends."

The note read: "Good morning everyone. The reason I'm not with you today is because just before we came on air my mum passed away and I needed to go straight back home to be with the family. But it's all OK. In fact, it's very OK. Mum needed to be at peace." PA

#### Bonham Carter to play Margaret in The Crown

Helena Bonham Carter has said she is "terrified" to be taking over from Vanessa Kirby as Princess Margaret in the third series of the popular drama The Crown.

Bonham Carter was officially announced for the role alongside Jason Watkins, who will play Harold Wilson. They will join Olivia Colman as the Queen and Tobias Menzies as Prince Philip, taking over from Claire Foy and Matt Smith.

Kirby was nominated for a Bafta for her portrayal. Bonham Carter said: "I'm not sure which I'm more terrified about - doing justice to the real Princess Margaret or following in the shoes of Vanessa Kirby's Princess Margaret. The only thing I can guarantee is that I'll be shorter [than Vanessa]." PA

#### **SYRIA CRISIS SAVING LIVES IN THE RUBBLE**





Dr Javid Abdelmoneim recently returned from the Syrian city of Raqqa, which was taken from the Islamic State group in October 2017.

"I'm an A&E specialist in London and I'm used to dealing with major trauma cases. But in just one month in Raqqa, I treated more severely wounded people than I've seen in the past ten years in A&E.

Ragga has been mostly destroyed. The streets are littered with improvised explosive devices and residents trying to rebuild their city are being wounded and killed.

MSF opened an emergency room in Raqqa within three weeks of the end of the offensive. It's just an ordinary house with a few rooms, but we've been inundated with patients. The blast victims ranged from people with shrapnel wounds to people whose arms or lower limbs had been blown off. Our job was to stabilise the patients with the aim of transferring them for surgery.

One man was brought to us whose leg had been blown off at thigh level, while the other one was attached just by skin and muscle. We couldn't even feel a pulse, there was so little blood. But we managed to save him. We got his blood pressure back to the point where he was agitated and fighting us, and stabilised him so we could transfer him for surgery.

'There were usually six of us in the room two doctors and four nurses - working on patients in three beds. We were a mixture of Syrian doctors and nurses and international staff, all working together as a team."

In all my years with MSF, I've seen nothing more impressive than the work of that clinic in Raqqa. It's the right work in the right place at the right time. The people of Raqqa - and of Syria as a whole - have been through so much, and it's not over yet. We're one of the only medical organisations working in that area, and I'm proud that we're there, playing a part."



can provide metal splints to treat 6 patients with broken bones in their legs.

#### 90,000

people have returned to Ragga so far. In a city with no functioning public hospital, MSF's emergency room is often the difference between life and death for patients.

#### 365

victims of improvised explosive devices and homemade bombs received emergency care from MSF in Ragga between November 2017 and January 2018.

#### What is MSF doing in Syria?

MSF operates four health facilities in Syria and has partnerships with five other facilities in the country. In areas where MSF cannot be physically present due to security concerns, we provide support and supplies to approximately 70 health facilities.

At the MSF-supported hospital in Tal Abyad close to Raqqa, MSF has two trauma teams and two surgical teams, as well as a paediatric ward and a maternity unit. Teams at the hospital also run mobile medical and vaccination clinics throughout the surrounding region.

#### Thank you

We couldn't do it without you. It's the financial support of individuals like you that enables us to provide emergency medical care to Syrians caught in this crisis.

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#### □ Post

Our quarterly magazine is filled with inspirational stories from our medical teams. Occasionally, we may ask you for additional help, including donations send invitations about MSF events or update you on an emergency.

#### □ Email

Our monthly emails provide a snapshot of our life-saving work and may include invites to MSF events.

#### □ Phone

Occasionally we'll contact you by telephone to say thank you or to update you

#### ▼ John Massey with his sister Jane, left, and niece Michele McVey after his release from HMP Warren Hill in

Suffolk Photograph: DAN CARRIER

## UK's longest serving prisoner celebrates release after 43 years

#### **Dan Carrier**

Britain's longest serving prisoner, John Massey, who has seen the inside of nearly every jail in the country, has been freed after almost 43 years.

The 69-year-old was convicted of the 1975 murder of Charlie Higgins, a pub doorman, and handed a mandatory 20-year life sentence, but he spent twice as long in jail after escaping on two occasions to say goodbye to dying members of his family in Kentish Town, north London.

Massey's extraordinary story includes breaking out of Pentonville Prison in London in 2012 in an attempt to see his mother, May, on her deathbed. He had been denied compassionate leave.

He had served a sentence almost two decades longer than any other prisoner in the UK convicted of the same crime when he left HMP Warren Hill in Suffolk on Wednesday.

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Since his 2012 escape, he has had three pleas for freedom rejected by the Parole Board and served time in Belmarsh, one of the UK's highest security prisons. Last week, a panel decided he should be given his freedom.

Massey first escaped in 1994 by climbing out of a pub window while on an escorted home visit to see his parents in Kentish Town. He made his way to Spain, where he stayed for three years before being extradited and sent back to prison.

Later, he broke parole conditions to sit by his father Jack's deathbed in 2007. On another occasion, he walked out of an open prison to see his sister, Carol, who had a terminal illness, after again being denied compassionate leave.

Massey said on his release: "I have always deeply regretted the crime I committed and am aware of the consequences and the suffering it caused. It happened in a moment of madness. I have served my sentence with remorse and am thankful the Parole Board have



come to the decision I should now be released."

His solicitor, John Turner,, who has fought to secure his freedom for a decade, said: "John's release is long overdue and I am absolutely thrilled for John and his relatives, whom I have worked closely with for a number of years. John comes from an extremely tight-knit family who have supported him throughout his many years in prison."

He said his client could not be seen as a danger to the public and the escape attempts had been linked to Massey's sense of loyalty towards a family who had stood by him.

'I wasn't expecting it. I didn't want to feel hope. I know the system and I did not want to think about waiting another year'

"John is a proud man - some may even say stubborn - and having acted for him for many years, he has been candid in explaining that he would have acted in the same way again if he was ever put in a similar position," Turner said.

He added: "The test for release focuses, in traditional terms, on the risk to life and limb. I have always argued that John does not pose such a risk. I hope that lessons have been learned from what is indisputably a very sad case.

"Had the system shown some more compassion towards a loving son and brother then I am quite sure that he could have been safely released years

"However, today should be a day to focus on the positives and I am thrilled that he has been allowed to return home to spend time with those that mean the most to him."

Massey, an accomplished self-taught blues guitarist, has to fulfil strict parole conditions, including a spell at a halfway house. "I'd be happy to get a sleeping bag and kip under the railway arches if it meant I could leave this place," said Massey.

He said the Parole Board decision came as a surprise. "I really wasn't expecting it. I didn't want to feel hope," he said. "I know the system and I did not want to think about going through the parole process yet again and having to wait another year."



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#### **National**

Northern Irish police release Troubles-era report on informants

> Snap it. List it. Sell it.

#### **Owen Bowcott**

Legal affairs correspondent

Police in Northern Ireland have agreed to release a secret special branch report on agent handling during the Troubles that allegedly protected paramilitary informants from arrest.

The 1980 report, by the senior MI5 officer Sir Patrick Walker, is believed to have established agent-handling practices that have since been criticised as prioritising intelligence-gathering over other concerns. The document

was commissioned by the-then chief constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, Sir John Hermon.

The report will be given to the Committee on the Administration of Justice (CAJ) next week. It follows an appeal to the information commissioner and a freedom of information tribunal hearing. The agreement between the CAJ, a Belfast-based human rights organisation, and the Police Service of Northern Ireland, which replaced the RUC, says a redacted copy may be published at a forthcoming inquest or, at the latest, within three months.

Daniel Holder, CAJ's deputy director, said: "The Walker report will assist in understanding just how the RUC special branch was tasked to operate in the 1980s at a time there were serious concerns regarding the use of informants outside the law. It is an historic policy document that should not have been withheld for so long.

"In terms of rights to access public documents, human rights law no longer permits absolute 'national security'-type exemptions. We therefore contested the use of what is a blanket power under the current Freedom of

Information Act to withhold information that 'relates to' MI5."

The Walker report was commissioned to improve intelligence penetration of paramilitary organisations in Northern Ireland when IRA activity was high. Walker subsequently became director general of MI5 from 1988 to 1992.

The report is believed to recommend that RUC special branch give priority to informants over solving crimes. The report's existence was revealed in 2001 by the UTV Insight programme.



ebay

#### Man who murdered boss and wrote 'bully' on her head jailed for 28 years

#### **Press Association**

A university worker has been jailed for a minimum of 28 years after stabbing his boss to death and scrawling "bully" across her forehead.

David Browning left Jillian Howell covered in blood on the floor of her living room after attacking her with a knife in the chest, neck and abdomen, before writing the word across her head with a black marker pen. Police found the Samaritans volunteer at her Brighton home on 26 October with 15 stab and slash wounds.

A jury convicted Browning on Wednesday of murder after deliberating for two hours and 20 minutes. Handing the 52-year-old a life sentence at Hove crown court yesterday, the judge, Christine Laing QC, said the way in which Browning murdered Howell was savage.

"This was a sustained attack and

"This was a sustained attack and the terror and trauma for her in the final few minutes of her life is unimaginable," she said. "You then defiled her body by writing the word 'bully' on her forehead." Laing said the slur could not have been further from the truth, with Howell's compassion costing the 46-year-old her life.

Browning, who was Howell's deputy in the University of Brighton's payroll department, was a spurned admirer who was deeply self-centred with a selfish and vindictive streak, the trial heard.

Laing said Browning's "utterly



▲ Jillian Howell's compassion cost the 46-year-old her life, the court heard

callous actions" caused trauma to Howell's family and his own.

Browning, a father of two from Seaford in East Sussex, sat with a pile of papers and took notes during the proceedings, but stared at the floor when he was sentenced.

Nicknamed Spock by his wife after the Star Trek character's methodical manner, Browning was described as the "epitome of urban normality". He was said to have led a stable life until it was jolted by the sudden death of his father in October 2016.

Browning claimed he and Howell clashed when they started working together in 2015 but later became friends. He said he decided to kill her after he became depressed following the bereavement. Howell, whose parents had both died, told friends she wanted to help him. Laing said: "I am also quite satisfied from the evidence that you were exaggerating how low you were feeling to maintain Jillian's attention."

Browning bought Howell gifts and sent her texts in which he claimed he adored her and said "every Jill needs a Dave". Howell told friends she felt manipulated when Browning demanded she must never leave the university or get a boyfriend and should be concentrating on him. In the months before Howell's death, Browning applied for a firearms licence, bought a shotgun and knife, hired a van, deleted swaths of messages and data on his phone, and took a change of clothes to the crime scene.

Jurors wept as Browning described the moment a "whoosh" came over him after he shared a curry with Howell before stabbing her in the back. He said she screamed "You bastard", to which he replied: "I'm sorry, Jill, this is what mental health does to you."

He stayed in the house for hours, posting a cartoon on Facebook with the slogan "Stand up to bullies then kill them" and phoning Samaritans, the very charity Howell had volunteered for, to seek advice. He handed himself into police but denied murder, claiming the act was manslaughter by diminished responsibility.

Graham Trembath QC, defending, said Browning showed no mercy when he killed Howell but asked for there to be "some light at the end of the tunnel". Browning will not be eligible to be considered for parole until he is in

#### **National**

▼ Photographs at the V&A by Linda McCartney, right, include Paul and their children in Scotland, and, below right, their daughter Stella







## Candid camera

## McCartney images donated to V&A

#### **Maev Kennedy**

ozens of intimate family photographs and celebrity rock music portraits taken by Linda McCartney have been given to the V&A Museum, for its new photographic galleries, by Sir Paul McCartney and his family.

The London museum is almost doubling its space devoted to photography to store and display an expanded collection, holding

I think she had a real eye for capturing the unguarded and unstaged moment'

**Martin Barnes** Senior curator

not just the McCartney gift but more than 270,000 images and objects from the Royal Photographic Society. It follows a controversial transfer of the RPS items to the V&A from the National Science and Media Museum in Bradford, West Yorkshire, a move that was dubbed by one local politician as "an act of cultural rape".

Linda McCartney, who was married to Paul McCartney, died in 1998, aged 56. The 63 images from the family archive include original Polaroids of her husband and young children, which will go on display for the first time, as well as portraits of rock stars including the Rolling Stones and Jimi Hendrix, and her photographic experiments including lithographs, cyanotypes, platinum and hand-painted prints.

Although she also became known as a musician after her marriage, being part of the post-Beatles band Wings, McCartney, under the name Linda Eastman, had worked as a professional photographer since the

In 1968 she became the first woman to shoot a Rolling Stone



magazine cover, with a portrait of the musician Eric Clapton.

Martin Barnes, senior curator of photography at the V&A, said he visited the McCartney home to help select the images. "I was trying not to think of the family connection, just to look at the work. I think she had a real eye for capturing the unguarded and unstaged moment.'

A selection of the McCartnev images goes on display when the

V&A's new photography centre

Belgravia

McCartney with their eldest

child, Mary, in

Scotland, 1970

**⋖**Paul

opens to the public on 12 October. The RPS's huge collection, dating back to the earliest experiments called "painting with light", was taken to Bradford in 2003 and regarded as a cornerstone of the National Media Museum. There was a public outcry when, in 2016, it was announced that the entire collection was going to London, to reside at the V&A. Critics thought the transfer



The RPS collection, of 6,000 cameras and pieces of equipment, a mile of books and journals, and 270,000 photographs, all being catalogued and digitised, dovetailed well with the V&A, Barnes said. In some cases, negatives, prints and cameras were being reunited including equipment with images shot by the pioneer photographer William Henry Fox Talbot.

sending touring exhibitions there.

Tristram Hunt, director of the V&A, said the new collection could tell the story of photography, from daguerreotype to digital. The RPS items had been the catalyst for creating the new spaces, in three restored 19th century galleries.

The galleries, he said, would have display cases holding 140 cameras, a handling collection and a "dark tent", composed of a projection and lecture space modelled on the travelling darkrooms used by the 19th century photographers.





▼ Mark van Dongen, who died in 2017, and Berlinah Wallace, below, who denies his murder

PHOTOGRAPHS: REX/SWN

## I thought glass was full of water, claims woman accused of acid murder

#### **Stephen Morris**

A woman accused of murdering her former partner by throwing acid over him has told a jury that she did not mean to hurt "her boy" and felt "so sad" at the terrible injuries he suffered.

Berlinah Wallace, a former fashion student, said she thought she was throwing a glass of water rather than sulphuric acid over Mark van Dongen at her Bristol flat.

Giving evidence at Bristol crown court for a second day, she claimed on the night of the alleged attack that Van Dongen had told her to drink the acid, which she said she had bought to clean smelly drains.

Wallace, 48, is charged with murdering Van Dongen, an engineer, by leaving him with such catastrophic injuries that he sought euthanasia at a clinic in Belgium. She threw acid over him in September 2015 and he died in January 2017, the jury heard.

Before he died, Van Dongen, who had a new girlfriend, told police he woke at 3am to hear Wallace laugh and tell him before the acid was thrown: "If I can't have you, no one else can."

Wallace told the court she picked up a glass and hurled its contents at Van Dongen, 29, after he pulled her underwear during an argument.

"I thought it was water," Wallace said. "I just wanted him to stop. He was hurting me. The contents went on him. I was trying to run away then he said: 'Ooh, you threw acid at me.'

"I just turned around and I think I saw smoke or something. The only way I can describe it is black. I was so shocked. I said: 'Come on, let's get into the shower'. He was saying: 'It hurts, it hurts.' He went in the shower."

Crying, Wallace said: "I didn't mean to hurt my boy." He got out of the shower, pushed past her and left, she said. Wallace claimed Van Dongen must have poured the glass of acid for her to drink and left it beside her bed.

She admitted that she did not phone





the emergency services to assist the Dutch-born Van Dongen. "I didn't think until the police asked me," she said. "Then I thought: 'I should have called the ambulance? I was so scared, so shocked and so scared. I didn't think about it. I was so shocked, really, really shocked. I was thinking: 'Oh my God, Mark, Mark'. My legs couldn't carry me properly, [they were] like jelly."

When asked how she felt about what happened to Van Dongen, Wallace wept in court. "Bad," she eventually replied. "I feel so sad. So sorry. He was my best friend. He was my family."

Wallace said she collected Van Dongen from work on 22 September 2015. During that night, she said, they argued and he became physically abusive to her after she insulted him.

"My head was hurting," she said. "Everything just seemed to be like a nightmare - what's going on with my life, what has my life come to?"

Van Dongen usually prepared a glass of warm water for Wallace to take medication, the court heard.

"He said, 'I have water for your medication, come to bed'," Wallace claimed. She said she did not take her medication and went to call her exboyfriend, who suggested she went to his home. She threw the liquid in the glass at Van Dongen when he prevented her from leaving, she said.

Wallace denies charges of murder and throwing a corrosive substance with intent. Her trial continues.



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National Brexit

#### EU dashes hopes of Brexiters by keeping its London office

#### **Daniel Boffey**

Brussels

The EU plans to defy Tory Brexiters and keep its office in London - the former Conservative central office at 32 Smith Square - as an outpost after Brexit. leaked documents reveal.

High-profile Brexiters had called last year for the EU to hand back the eight-storey red-brick building, which was Margaret Thatcher's headquarters and the scene of her election victories.

The European commission and European parliament jointly bought the Westminster building for £20m in 2010 after 50 years of Tory ownership,

and renamed it Europe House. Jacob Rees-Mogg MP, the chairman of the European Research Group, had suggested it would be a "wonderful" gesture of goodwill if, during the negotiations over Britain's £39bn divorce bill, the building were returned.

But a leaked note on the administrative consequences of Brexit, seen by the Guardian, makes it clear the EU is keen to keep the building, near the Houses of Parliament. Klaus Welle, the European parliament's secretary general, said the EU needed a position from which to champion the interests

of its citizens in Britain and to communicate its messages to the British.

"In the UK, parliament has established offices in London [the 'Europe House' shared with the European commission] and Edinburgh," Welle wrote to the chamber's political leadership.

The EU's office in Scotland was set up close to Edinburgh Castle in 1975, the year of the UK's Common Market membership referendum, for Brussels to build contacts with local politicians.

"Although the UK is set to become a third country, as a former member state with many links to the EU, it nonetheless - and whatever the outcome of the negotiations - will remain a special and essential partner of the union. Most notably, as of now, more than 3 million non-British EU citizens reside in the United Kingdom," Welle wrote.

He added that the cost of the office was "within the normal range of EP [European parliament] liaison offices in larger member states. In the light of the above, it is therefore proposed to continue parliament's presence in the UK following the example of parliament's Washington office."

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▲ Upgrading Dover could take 10 years photograph: chris ratcliffe/bloomberg/getty

#### Border health checks could curb fresh food imports, say freight experts

#### Lisa O'Carroll

Brexit correspondent

Everyday food staples including lettuce, tomatoes and beef could be in short supply or even disappear from supermarket shelves after Brexit because of disruptive checks that will need to be conducted at ports, Eurotunnel and freight industry chiefs say.

Scores of continental favourites that cross the French border - including oranges, lemons and avocados from Spain and fresh flowers from Holland - will be subject to phytosanitary checks in addition to customs checks after Brexit.

"Controls can take a few minutes to 48 hours if a laboratory test needs to be done," John Keefe, the director of public affairs at Getlink, the new name for Eurotunnel Group, told the annual multimodal logistics conference in Birmingham.

"Coming in through the Channel tunnel on an everyday basis are food, flowers ... If the government turn round at the end of Brexit negotiations and say: 'Sorry consumers, you will no longer be able to have fresh strawberries or fresh lettuce or fruits de mer from France, there is likely to be a strong reaction from consumers.

"If we go backwards from frictionless border, then we really have lost from Brexit."

There will also have to be checks at continental ports for British exports, meaning French diners may have to do without Scottish langoustines or salmon. Supplies of such foods from

Scotland rotted on the roadside in 2015, the last time there were big delays in the ports.

Keefe said the phytosanitary checks legally required on both sides of the border were a bigger challenge than the high-profile issue of customs checks that is dividing the cabinet.

"If we are all happy eating frozen meat then it's an easy win, but if we want fresh food and having it on our shelves 365 days a year then it's a big problem," he said.

"We export about £8bn of fresh produce a year and import £12-13bn. That amount of fresh produce going backwards and forwards is far more of a risk for the government than is anything of customs or duty."

Keefe said there were no existing border inspection posts to serve Folkestone and Dover. It is estimated it could take between five and 10 years to put enough posts in place to deal with the volume of freight requiring phytosanitary inspection.

"We have the cabinet talking about different customs partnerships, but what we haven't seen yet," he said, "is any kind of progress out of the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs in particular to provide us with some clear guidelines about how [border inspection posts] might develop." Keefe called on the government to urgently draw up a plan of action.

Representatives from the Dover Port and the Freight Transport Association had the same message.

"It is the non-tariff barriers that could cause the bulk of delay," said James Hookham, the deputy chief executive of the FTA.

Keefe said 20% of Eurotunnel's freight was perishable food, and, after Brexit, trucks coming through the Channel tunnel would have to divert their content to Heathrow or Southampton for inspection, cutting into the shelf life of fresh food and flowers.

Britain is not self-sufficient in food and relies on imports, an issue that farmers and food producers have said could lead to shortages of staples after Brexit.



#### Ministers deadlocked over rival customs proposals

#### **Heather Stewart**

Political editor

David Davis, the Brexit secretary, has said the government's two options for the UK's future customs relationship with the EU27 remain alive, after ministers failed to reach agreement.

Sajid Javid, the home secretary, sided with hardline Brexiters to reject Theresa May's favoured option of a customs partnership, in which Britain would collect tariffs on the EU's behalf. Sources have said that option

could not command a majority among senior ministers during discussions on Wednesday. However, Downing Street has refused to take it off the table formally.

Pro-Brexit ministers prefer the alternative of maximum facilitation, or "maxfac", in which technology would be used to minimise cumbersome border checks. Both plans have been rejected by Brussels as unworkable in their present form.

Davis told MPs yesterday: "Both of these approaches have merits and virtues, both have some drawbacks

and that's why we're taking our time over the discussion on this."

The chancellor, Philip Hammond, and the business secretary, Greg Clark, have urged their colleagues to reach a resolution as soon as possible, or risk businesses losing confidence in being able to trade freely with the EU after Brexit. Hammond and Clark believe the customs partnership approach is the only one that could potentially avoid a hard border in Ireland.

Davis acknowledged the urgency of the issue. "It's frankly incredibly important that we get this right, not just for trade but for the extremely sensitive issue of maintaining the peace process in Northern Ireland. I don't undertake to put an artificial deadline on something as important as that," he said.

Allies of Davis say he backs the maxfac option, but has kept both plans alive in public out of loyalty.

The prime minister's spokesman sought to play down the deadlock. "There's an ongoing process of putting together the plans that will allow us to leave the EU in the smoothest possible way," he said.

#### **Sketch**

**John Crace** 

# Interplanetary trade offers new hope on another confusing day in Davis's looking-glass world

avid Davis isn't noted for his grasp of detail. Or for his grasp of detail. Or for his grasp of anything very much. But at Brexit questions in the Commons, he took his lack of awareness to new heights by seeming to forget there had been a meeting of the inner cabinet the previous day. He's going to get a hell of a shock when someone gently informs him that not only was he there but he voted against the PM's preferred customs partnership option.

Brexit questions used to guarantee a nearly full house, but the number of MPs has dwindled to a mere handful. Most have long since decided there's only a certain number of times they can slip through Davis's looking-glass world before they don't return.

Of those unhappy few who did decide to take one for the team, almost all wanted an urgent update on the customs union - time is running out to reach an agreement by October.

"The customs union is a very complex issue," said Davis, confidently channelling his inner Alice. "So it should be no surprise that it is taking a long time." A few MPs began reaching for their medication. It was going to be a long hour. They didn't need to be told how complicated it all was. The issue was that the government had taken so long to getting round to realise that fact for itself.

'The Brexit secretary talked himself round in circles to a position where everything was equally possible and impossible'

Davis insisted that, despite the customs partnership having been kicked into the long grass the previous day, the government was still considering both the customs partnership and a more streamlined model. "Both have their merits and their drawbacks," he declared. One of which is that the EU has already in effect ruled both proposals out. The shadow Brexit secretary, Keir Starmer, looked at Davis with alarm and pity.

On and on Davis went. "We are acting in the best interests of the country," he said. Now it was the turn of the hardline Tory Brexiters to look confused. They had been certain the government was really just doing anything it could to keep them happy and to stay in power.

Having talked himself round in circles to a position where everything was equally possible and impossible, Davis sat down and handed over to his junior minister, Robin Walker.

What did the people living on both sides of the Irish border think of the government's proposed solutions, asked Labour's Karin Smyth. "Um, er, um, er, everyone understands the importance of a frictionless border," Walker mumbled. "Um, er, um, er, we're still talking." Though not in a language anyone but he and Davis understands. Walker was then asked what steps had been taken to find a technological solution to the Irish border. "None whatsoever," he said proudly. Davis patted him on the back. That's my boy.

Walker was made to look an intellectual giant by the arrival to the dispatch box of the department's most recent ministerial recruit. Having dismissed the government's own research into the economic impact of leaving the customs union as rubbish, Suella Braverman then made her big pitch for the future. Outer space. Britain would conquer the universe and be a world leader in trade with Venus and Neptune. To infinity and beyond. Just another day in Brexit in Wonderland.



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#### **National**

King James Bible's classic text needed a little help from France

#### **Alison Flood**

A scholar has discovered that the King James Bible includes work by a previously unsuspected French translator, whose contribution to the quintessentially English work has been undetected for 400 years.

The landmark work, first published in 1611, was drafted by more than 40 translators. But according to Nicholas Hardy, of Birmingham University, very few documents survive from the drafting and revision stages and little is known about how the translators worked together.

Hardy was consulting a printed copy of the ancient Greek version of the Old Testament, held in Oxford's Bodleian Library, when he noticed that the thousands of handwritten annotations in its margins were in the hand of John Bois, one of the translators. The annotations' author had previously been unknown.

At the British Library in London he found correspondence between Bois and the renowned French scholar Isaac

Casaubon. The unpublished letters revealed that Bois had asked Casaubon for help translating passages he and his colleagues were struggling with.

Hardy studied Casaubon's notebooks, held in the Bodleian since the 1670s, finding records of the conversations Casaubon had with the translator Andrew Downes about other complications in the text.

"We think of the King James Bible as a distinctively English cultural product, but as the most famous scholar of ancient Greek literature of the period, [Casaubon] was far more celebrated and pre-eminent than any of the translators who worked on the translation, and [his contributions] increased the prestige of the translation from their point of view."

Casaubon was visiting London at the time of the translation and could barely speak or write English, according to Hardy, so he corresponded with the other translators in Latin.

"These new sources show us how complex [the] problems were, and how strongly the translators could disagree with each other about how to solve them."

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# England's mortality rate for under-fives 50% higher than in Sweden

#### **Nicola Davis**

Deaths in children under five occur one-and-a-half times more often in England than in Sweden, a study has found. If the child mortality rate had been the same in England as in Sweden during the 10-year period analysed, more than 600 fewer children would have died a year, researchers said.

The UK has one of the highest child mortality rates in western Europe, because although it has a similar level of economic development and healthcare to Sweden, the UK's more unequal wealth distribution leads to poorer maternal health during pregnancy.

This causes more babies to be born prematurely and with a low birth weight, said researchers from the UCL Great Ormond Street Institute of Child Health. Children born in England also tend to have more birth anomalies such as congenital heart defects - than those in Sweden.

The study, published in the Lancet, used medical data from the NHS and the Swedish health service to compare births from 2003 to 2012 and track the children's health and death records up to their fifth birthday.

This included information on the mother's age, the family's socioeconomic position, the length of pregnancy, the child's birth weight and gender, and whether the child had any birth anomalies.

Overall, the study included more than 3.9m English births, with 11,392 deaths, and more than a million Swedish births and 1,927 deaths.

Between two days and four years old, the child mortality rate for England was one-and-a-half times higher than for Sweden (29 deaths per 10,000 children in England, compared with 19 in Sweden). If the child mortality rate had been the same, there would have been 607 fewer child deaths a year in England, equivalent to 6,073 in total over the period.

The differing figures were driven mainly by differences in mortality among children under one.

Dr Ania Zylbersztejn of UCL Great Ormond Street Institute of Child Health, the lead author, said: "While child deaths are still rare, the UK has one of the highest child mortality rates in western Europe. Babies born prematurely or with low birth weight have an increased risk of early death, and those who survive are more likely to have chronic ill-health or disability."

The higher frequency of adverse birth characteristics such as low birth weight, pre-term birth or congenital anomalies in England were the main reasons for the excess risk of death compared with Sweden, accounting for 77% of the excess risk for newborns and 68% for those under the age of one.

Socioeconomic factors explained a further 3% of excess risk in newborns, and 11% in those under one. Combined, they said, these factors fully explained the difference in survival for under-fives in England and Sweden.

Good maternal health - including maintaining a healthy weight, avoiding chronic illnesses such as diabetes and avoiding high blood pressure, psychological stress and infections - and healthy behaviours such as eating a balanced diet and avoiding smoking, drugs and alcohol are associated with healthy foetal development.

The UK has one of the most unequal distributions of wealth of all western countries. From 2003 to 2005, the most deprived 20% of the UK's population had a sevenfold lower income than the least deprived 20%, while the gap in Sweden was only four times. This suggests many more people in England are socioeconomically disadvantaged.

#### **Survival statistics**

600

Fewer infants would have died over 10 years if England's mortality rates were the same as Sweden's

11,392

The number of deaths of children under five years old in England during the study, out of 3.9m births

77%

The proportion of deaths affected by adverse birth characteristics, such as abnormalities, among newborns

#### Theatre review

# Evocative song of woe about pain of creativity

#### **Mood Music**

Old Vic, London

**★★★☆** 

#### **Michael Billington**

oe Penhall is very good at showing how a crisis can be exacerbated by the intervention of experts. In Blue/Orange (2000) a black mental patient became a ping-pong ball batted back and forth by white doctors. In this fascinating and highly topical new play, a conflict over ownership of a song escalates once the legal and psychiatric parasites enter the arena.

Switching between consulting rooms and a recording studio and moving around in time, Penhall doesn't just give us a contest: he demonstrates the illusion that

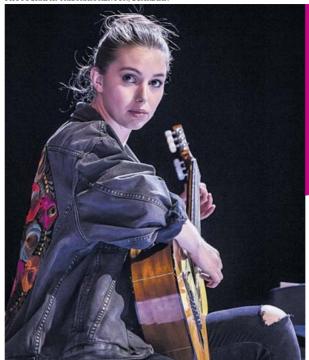
any piece of art has untainted solo authorship. Cat is a Dublin-born singer-

Cat is a Dublin-born singersongwriter who has had a big hit that led to a US tour. Bernard is the artistproducer who put an album together with songs by the pair of them. Battle is joined over Bernard's claim of sole credit for the hit single, but we see how the conflict is intensified as both parties resort to lawyers and seek to sort out their problems through psychotherapy.

Dramatically, the danger is that the issue seems one-sided. Bernard is a bully with a palpable contempt not just for musicians but for singers, whom he equates with actors and politicians as people who "breathe life into words they didn't necessarily write". Cat is vulnerable, inexperienced and subject to all the pressures women face in the record industry. It even emerges that, on tour in the US, she was lugged from one date to the next by a male crew

▼ Seána Kerslake brings light and shade to the character of Cat

PHOTOGRAPH: TRISTRAM KENTON/GUARDIAN



who treated her as little more than a drugged-up rag doll.

While the play makes the point that the music business treats women badly, it is infinitely more than a loaded conflict over intellectual property. For a start, Penhall has the courage to show the couple at work, where we see how a song is often developed

through argumentative give-andtake. Everything is made worse by willy-waving lawyers and musically ignorant therapists who try to provide tidy solutions to intractable problems.

It is infinitely more than

a loaded

conflict over

intellectual

property.

business

The music

is simply a

metaphor

As I see it, the music business is simply a metaphor: what Penhall is really writing about is the way art is often the product of damaged

individuals who depend on a degree of collaboration.

The play itself helps to dent the myth of the solo creator. Penhall wrote it but Roger Michell has given it physical life by staging it with a beautiful fluidity that allows the arguments between the six characters to flow back and forth.

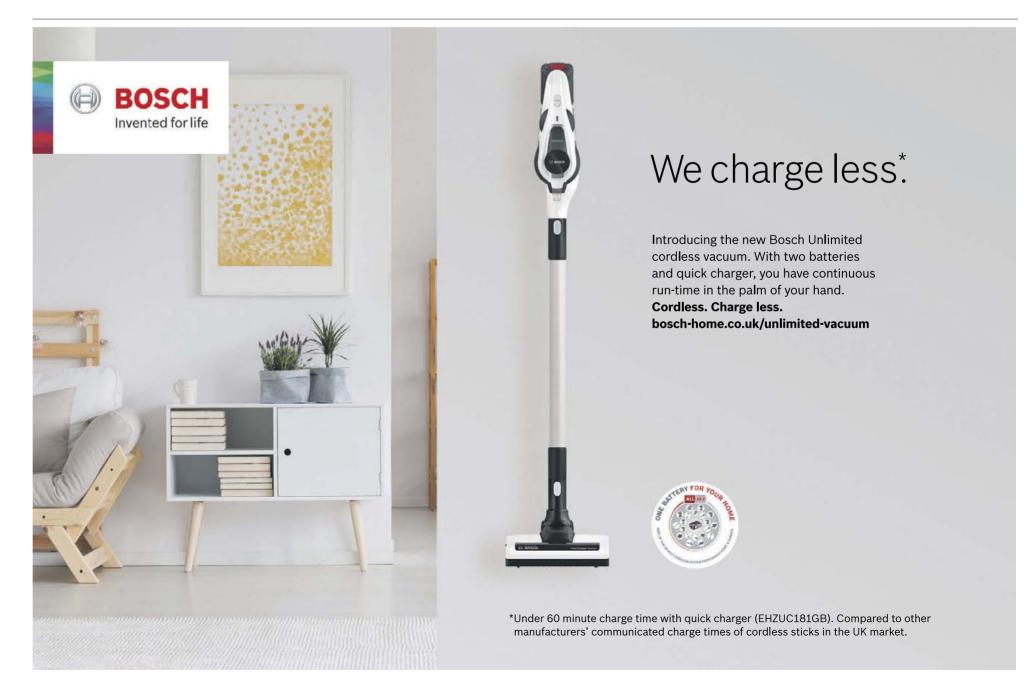
Disproving Bernard's thesis that actors are just mouthpieces, Ben Chaplin endows the character with a sadness that offsets his inbuilt arrogance: he may be a vampire but when he expresses to his therapist incredulity that he could ever know his wife's feelings, you feel that he is trapped inside his own chauvinism.

Seána Kerslake also brings light and shade to the exploited Cat by showing that she is seeking vindictive triumph to compensate for her inability to satisfy her father's dreams.

father's dreams.
Neil Stuke and Kurt Egyiawan,
as the lawyers, buzz around like
flies, and Jemma Redgrave and Pip
Carter, as the therapists, remind
us of the perils of trying to stabilise
creative talent.

I would have liked to have seen even more of Cat and Bernard making music together, but this is a fine play that raises a host of issues without ever trying to resolve them.

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# Eyewitness



▼ McAllen, Texas
A border agent restrains two people
at the Mexican border after they were
caught crossing into the US illegally
PHOTOGRAPH: ADREES LATIF/REUTERS



# World

## Revealed: Britain plans push to bolster alliance against Russia

**♦ Continued** from page 1

sanctions linked to human rights give the UK greater moral credibility.

James Nixey, the head of the Russia programme at the thinktank Chatham House, said: "It's hard to persuade even your closest allies to take tangible measures with impact if we're not prepared to sacrifice some of the Russian investment in our own country and stick to a point of principle. Government statements on this have been either ambiguous or all over the place."

The UK says Russian denials over Salisbury and Douma reveal a state uninterested in cooperating to reach a common understanding of the truth.

Alicia Kearns, who ran the Foreign Office's strategic counter-terrorism communications in Syria and Iraq, says Russia is seen as nearly unique in its willingness to conceal the truth.

"When we are dealing with most malign states or even terror groups, an element of truth is expected to increase the efficacy of their disinformation, but with Russia there is no commitment, or adherence, to the truth," she said. "For instance for the first 10 days that Russia was inside Syria, it insisted through a large propaganda campaign that its planes were only bombing Islamic States positions, and it was categorically not true."

Russia's critics say in case after case - the downing of Malaysia Airlines flight MH17, the role of Russian forces in Ukraine, the Litvinenko murder, Syria's use of chemical weapons, and cyber-attacks - the west ends up arguing not just about ideology or interests, but Moscow's denial or questioning of what western governments see as unchallengeable facts.



▲ Coverage of the Skripal poisoning by Moscow-funded channel RT

"Putin is waging an information war designed to turn our strongest asset freedom of speech - against us. Russia is trying to fix us through deception," said Tom Tugendhat, chair of the foreign affairs select committee, who says Putin only responds if countries stand up to him.

Some say truth is always contested in international relations. President Donald Trump was described by his ex-CIA director James Comey as "untethered to the truth".

British politicians are not alone in claiming Russia's mendacity is a government-wide strategy that makes traditional diplomacy ineffective.

Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, said after one phone call with Putin that he lived in a different world. David Cameron once told friends that the usual assumption was that other leaders were speaking their version of the truth. "With Putin you came off the phone and you were not quite sure he believed what he was saying," he said.

For some Baltic diplomats, Putin's regime now lies so systematically that diplomatic dialogue is close to redundant. Linas Linkevičius, the Lithuanian foreign minister, said: "A lie isn't an alternative point of view; it is simply a lie and needs to be identified as such. A T-90 tank in Ukraine isn't just a 'vehicle'. Propaganda is not a legitimate form of public diplomacy."

For some old hands in the Foreign Office, however, demonising Russia is a disastrous strategy. Sir Anthony Brenton, British ambassador to Russia from 2004-08, insists a fruitful common agenda with Moscow on issues such as nuclear disarmament, terrorism and cyberwarfare is still possible.

"What on earth was her majesty's foreign secretary doing comparing the Russian World Cup with Hitler's 1936 Olympics?" he asked. "If you are looking for a single statement really calculated to infuriate the Russians there it is, or indeed the defence secretary telling Russia to shut up. Elementary diplomacy goes a long way with the Russians."

Figures such as Brenton fear that not only would a British all-out assault on Russian mendacity drive Moscow into arms of China, but also risk British diplomatic overreach, given Brexit.

Pushing for further action risks dividing the alliance the Foreign Office achieved after the Salisbury poisonings. One ex-foreign secretary said: "It is better for the Foreign Office to camp on where they have got to. The crucial thing is to keep the alliance together."



# Deny, distract, blame Moscow's tactics in the propaganda war

#### **Luke Harding**



he Twitter account of the Russian embassy in London has been busy over the past two months, offering numerous explanations for the poisoning of Sergei and Yulia Skripal in Salisbury. All hint at a dark and sprawling British conspiracy. Since the Skripals were found on a park bench in early March, Downing Street has stuck

to one version of events. Theresa May, the prime minister, says it is "highly likely" Moscow carried out the attack using a Soviet-made nerve agent. Only the Kremlin had the motive to kill its former officer, she argues.

The embassy, and its boss, Sergei Lavrov, Russia's foreign minister, have offered alternative scenarios. Lavrov said a Swiss laboratory used to test the poison identified another toxin called BZ. Russia did not have it. The US, UK and Nato did, he said.

Moscow has also claimed that the Skripals were not poisoned,

that Yulia has been abducted and hidden, and that someone injected her with "chemicals" before tests were carried out. It has also alleged that the British have "destroyed evidence" and refused to abide by international norms.

The embassy has published letters from what it claims are UK citizens, expressing sympathy for Vladimir Putin. "Why include to poison his daughter Yulia who is Russian citizen and lives in Moscow?" one "correspondent" asks.

The Skripal case vividly illustrates how the Kremlin has abandoned conventional diplomacy. Its foreign emissaries are full-time trolls, with Alexander Yakovenko, its ambassador to the UK, personally approving many tweets. Moscow's tactics include sarcasm, denial, innuendo and noisy counter-accusation.

David Clark, a former special adviser to Robin Cook, the late foreign secretary, said Russia's strategy was to lead people into "a wilderness of mirrors". "There is an endless loop of disinformation and

#### Road to nowhere?

#### Wheels come off Paris bike hire scheme

Page 31

**Badge of honour** 

US teacher of the year, stages silent protest





half-formed opinions. It gets echoed and replicated artificially, by Russian bots, as well as by genuine means," he said.

Clark is sceptical that Kremlin propaganda works. He noted that "most people in the world are not on Twitter" and pointed to a YouGov poll that found 75% of Britons thought the Russian state was probably behind the poisoning. This included 37% who thought Moscow was "almost certainly" responsible.

Only 5% believed Russia was innocent. On the continent, there were similar suspicions. Almost 60% of Germans, and just over half of French people, believed the UK government's case. This was echoed at an official level. In March, more than 20 western countries expelled dozens of Russian diplomats.

Still, the Kremlin's protestations have had some impact on UK politics. In the House of Commons, the Labour leader, Jeremy Corbyn, appeared reluctant to blame Russia. Boris Johnson, the foreign secretary, then claimed the government science facility at Porton Down had

▲ A Russia Today broadcast van parked in front of Saint Basil's cathedral and the Kremlin PHOTOGRAPH: MLADEN ANTONOV/AFP/GETTY

identified Russia as the source of the novichok poison.

But it had not: the UK's case was based on intelligence and analysis of previous Kremlin assassinations, including the 2006 murder of Alexander Litvinenko, killed with a radioactive cup of tea.

Nataliia Popovych, the co-founder of the Ukraine Crisis Media Center, said Russia's Skripal playbook had been seen in Ukraine.

Dutch investigators found that in 2014, Kremlin-backed rebels had shot down Malaysia Airlines flight MH17 over eastern Ukraine, killing 298. Moscow supplied the Buk missile.

Russian state TV offered a series of wildly implausible counterclaims. It said the passengers were already dead, a Ukrainian fighter jet had shot the plane down, and the CIA and other western intelligence agencies were in on the plot.

"We monitored all the lies the Russian media were pushing. Their modus operandi is to deny, distract and blame," Popovych said.

These tactics may have limited impact internationally, but are pretty effective inside Russia, she said. Even Putin's critics seem unconvinced of Moscow's guilt.

"It's about broadcasting thoroughly tailored narratives, which are not even based on the news. This happens on purpose on major TV channels controlled by the Kremlin," Popovych said.

Russian broadcasters waged a relentless campaign against Europe, she said, with an average of 18 negative references a day. Europe is depicted as dangerous, decadent, immoral, and home to fascism and revisionism. The EU is falling apart. Germans and Scandinavians routinely take children away from Russian families and give them to "gays", state TV claims.

The depiction of Britain inside Russia is worse, analysis of more than three years of content suggests. The UK is portrayed as Europe's most Russophobic country and an insidious and unreliable partner. A report by the Rossiya 1 channel referred to May's "pale, tired flesh" and hinted that she had a drinking problem. Only Belarus and Switzerland get positive coverage.

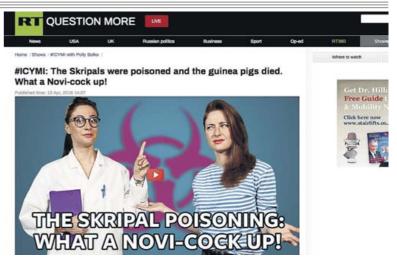
So far, the Foreign Office has taken baby steps to fight back. It has released a mini-film setting out how Moscow spreads fictitious stories. The video identified three "tried and tested" steps. These were "inventing multiple theories to mask the truth", getting officials to endorse them as credible, and "using bots and fake accounts to amplify fake information".

None of this, the government says, changes the facts. The Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons confirmed novichok was used in Salisbury. Russia's identification of BZ was false - a "malign" and "craven" attempt to shift the blame elsewhere, according to the EU and OPCW delegates.

Mark Sedwill, the UK's national security adviser, took the unusual step of releasing classified intelligence. In a letter to Jens Stoltenberg, the Nato secretary general, Sedwill said Skripal's former spy agency, the GRU, had targeted Yulia's email account. Over the past decade, Russia had produced small amounts of novichok, he said, and used special units to test the poison on door handles.

In spite of this openness, critics say Downing Street has been slow to respond to cynical Russian attacks. "They haven't been proactive," Clark said of the Foreign Office and politicians. "Despite everything, the British elite is still conflicted about how to deal with Russia. War has been declared, but we're not fighting a war back."

The government should enlighten Russian citizens about the Kremlin's multiple abuses at home, he said.



▲ A screengrab from RT.com showing a video mocking British journalists' coverage of the poisoning of Sergei and Yulia Skripal рнотодгарн: RT.COM

#### Online Skripal jokes and clickbait increase traffic

#### Jim Waterson

he poisoning of the Skripals is unlikely material for a jokey video. But that didn't stop the Kremlinbacked broadcaster RT posting a clip on its video strand ICYMI, mocking UK journalists' reporting and questioning the competence of the perpetrators.

"It's been a huge novi-cockup," says presenter Polly Boiko in a plummy British accent, going on to suggest Sergei Skripal's pets - locked in his home when it was sealed off during the police investigation were "the true victims" of the saga.

Media coverage of RT has tended to focus on its 24-hour TV news channel, which is under investigation by Ofcom for seven potential breaches of broadcasting impartiality standards after the Salisbury incident. What has received less scrutiny is RT's unregulated online operation, which reaches millions of people each week with its excitable rewrites of mainstream news stories, livestreamed video coverage of protests and constant questioning of anything deemed to be an established news source.

"People judge RT by its television output, which is completely the wrong way to judge it as the viewing figures are not very impressive," said Prof Stephen Hutchings, of the University of Manchester, who is conducting a research project on the channel. "Their success is down to their online output."

Crucial to this success is the tone, exemplified by ICYMI and other parts of RT's online operation, which combines tabloid desire for headlines with the snark and memes of internet culture. "The irreverence is very much part of their strategy,"

explained Hutchings. "They work with the grain of online culture."

The approach seems to be working. Posts on RT's Englishlanguage Facebook page have attracted twice as many likes and shares in the past three months as those on the Sun's page, according to data provided by the audiencemeasuring business EzyInsights.

This has been achieved by focusing on extreme topics and conspiracy theories, with headlines that are unlikely to appear in more traditional media, such as: "Syrians support Assad but BBC won't report it, British baroness tells RT."

What's less clear is how much thought goes into this approach. Former employees of the site describe a chaotic workplace staffed largely by inexperienced journalists. where a bias towards covering fringe political views is often supplemented by a more powerful desire to write anything that would bring in viral traffic. This means a focus on stories guaranteed to fire up a particular demographic, from attacks on the BBC to criticism of safe spaces on university campuses.

Most staffers said that with the exception of stories on issues such as the war in Syria, RT's management were usually more interested in chasing traffic than pushing a centrally agreed line from Moscow.

According to Hutchings, RT's future in the UK could be as an unregulated online-only publisher.

Boiko, the ICYMI host, said RT's audience could understand perfectly well the "concept and the intent" of her team's videos, which she said offered a "sharp, satirical take on the biggest headlines" and were meant to challenge viewers "to think critically and get them talking - and perhaps smiling - along with us". Asked whether she had ever received instructions from RT's management on how to cover a story, she replied: "No."

#### 'Devastating' dust storms in India kill more than 100 people

#### **Michael Safi**

Delhi

Severe dust storms across northern India have killed more than 100 people, destroyed homes and left hundreds without electricity.

Clouds of thick dust and sand frequently blow across the region during the dry season, but the death toll from this week's storms has been unusually high. The dust has been followed by lightning storms and rains.

At least 64 people died in Uttar Pradesh, most in Agra district where the Taj Mahal is located. Another 35 are confirmed to have died in Rajasthan and two each in Uttarakhand and Madhya Pradesh. The death toll in all four states could still rise.

The destruction has extended to Punjab and Haryana, where trees were



▲ People cover their noses in a dust storm in Delhi photograph: manish swarup/ap

uprooted and power supplies cut. Less intense storms in Delĥi caused traffic jams and flight diversions. Andhra Pradesh was hit by more than 41,000 lightning strikes in a matter of hours, disaster officials said.

Shivam Lohia, who owns a resort hotel in Rajasthan, said he abandoned his car and ran for his life after it was almost blown away. "I haven't seen such a devastating storm in at least 25 years. Everyone was scared and running for cover as trees and homes were getting blown away," Lohia told AFP. The dust clouds were trailed by thunder and lightning storms, heavy rain and strong winds that are expected to continue over the weekend.

Most of the deaths occurred when houses people were sleeping in collapsed overnight, disaster management officials said. Falling pylons and trees also contributed to the death toll.

The dust storms are created by a rapid ascent of warm air which creates a vacuum that air closer to the ground rushes to fill, taking sand and dust with it. Meteorologists said abnormally high temperatures had contributed to the disaster. Similar storms last month killed at least 15 people in Uttar Pradesh, and damaged the Taj Mahal.

#### Punjab clips Red Bull's wings by banning 'energy drink' labelling

#### **Memphis Barker**

Islamabad

Pakistan's most populous province has ordered energy drink manufacturers including Red Bull to remove the word "energy" from their labels, saying it is scientifically misleading and encourages people to guzzle them in potentially dangerous quantities.

The order comes amid increasing international regulatory curbs on the highly caffeinated fizzy drinks market and is believed to be the first in the world to censor the term "energy" - a key part of the drinks' appeal.

The scientific advisory panel of the Punjab Food Authority (PFA) said the drinks did not provide nutritional energy. Instead, the large quantities of caffeine, taurine and guarana in energy drinks simply stimulated the swift release of existing reserves.

"In TV commercials [drinkers] throw huge tyres, they keep running and running," Noorul Amin Mengal, PFA director, told the Guardian. "These adverts are misleading our illiterate population."

Following an aggressive marketing campaign in Pakistan, people seeking to become bodybuilders, for example, have been known to drink several cans at once, added a PFA spokesman. Some end up in hospital, he said.

The PFA has given makers of energy drinks until the end of the year to replace the word "energy" with "stimulant" on their labels, and add warnings in Urdu against consumption by pregnant women and children under the age of 12.

The PFA has demanded that energy drink firms, which sell about 312m cans a year in Punjab, must limit caffeine to 200 parts per million (ppm) - about half the amount Red Bull contains.

Pakistan has a particular incentive to curb the industry, Mengal said. A 2017 study showed energy drinks increase blood pressure five times more than an equivalent amount of caffeine in coffee, and Pakistan has one of the highest rates of heart disease.

After "marathon" consultation with the industry, most manufacturers had agreed to comply with the new regulations, the PFA said.

Last year Turkey limited soft drink caffeine levels to 150ppm and UK supermarkets, including Waitrose, Tesco and Aldi, no longer sell energy drinks to those under the age of 16.



Price until March 2019	Price from March 2019 to March 2020	Price from March 2020 to March 2021
Price shown per month	Price shown per month plus annual RPI adjustment = Price A	Price A per month plus annual RPI adjustment

Annual price increase based on the full price of your plan and/or additional commitment service. The price will increase from March each year. Please note the cost of any additional services you take from us might also increase or decrease while you're an EE customer.

P2O or P2O Pro. Saving is based on a reduction of £5 per month in the monthly charges over 24 months. After the price plan minimum term has expired you may lose the discount. BT Sport – 24 m app is an inclusive benefit of pay monthly Max Plans. To use the app customers must have a smartphone or tablet containing an EE SIM. All devices must use the latest operating syster.
4. (Jelly Bean), Windows 10 or 105 9. Some in-app functionality is restricted on Windows 10. To use the app you'll need a TV licence for the household registered to your EE account on an announce of the the UK. You must not attempt to share, edit or adapt the content made available to you. It's your responsibility to ensure that content accessed by under 18: 
ing it. Content available via the app may change from time to time. When you download and use the BT Sport app, you will use data that may decrement from your price plan's

#### **U** The chunky Vélib bikes were once seen as proof that big cities could have environmentally friendly transport



## On yer bike!

# Paris cycle-share under pressure as wheels fall off hi-tech upgrade plan

#### **Angelique Chrisafis**

Paris

nce it was the pride
of Paris. The French
capital's self-service
bike-share scheme,
Vélib, was copied from
London to Seattle and
seen as proof that large cities could
revolutionise green transport.

But the famous chunky grey bicycles have now virtually ground to a standstill amid the chaotic rollout of a new generation of hi-tech models under a new operator, the French-Spanish consortium Smovengo. Blighted by glitches, delays and a dwindling number of users, the bike scheme has become a public relations disaster for the French capital and could even threaten the political future of the left at Paris city hall.

The mayor of Paris, Anne Hidalgo, along with politicians from the city's outskirts, held crisis talks this week and demanded new emergency measures to get the scheme working. "Parisians, who are very attached to these self-service bikes, consider

that the system they loved has been ruined," Hidalgo said. "We must have a service that works, as fast as possible, to regain users' trust."

Hidalgo is seen as a key Socialist opposition leader under the presidency of the centrist Emmanuel Macron, but she is under increasing pressure from the right and the hard left over the Vélib trouble.

Smovengo unveiled an emergency plan yesterday, vowing to streamline the operation, open more docking stations linked to the electricity grid and set up about 800 more cycle docks by late June. It also vowed to improve communication with users.

When the Vélib "freedom bikes" were launched in 2007, Paris was not



▲ Abandoned Vélib bikes were found after a canal in Paris was drained

the first city to introduce a municipal bike-share scheme, but it was the largest. The scheme was run for a decade by the outdoor advertising company JCDecaux but last year it was put out to tender.

Smovengo won a €700m (£620m) deal to run the system for 15 years, promising to introduce higher-tech, connected bikes, with one third of them electric. Old bikes were removed and docking stations dug up in order to be replaced in January.

Four months on, less than half of the 1,400 planned docking stations have been created and the company is having to pay millions of euros in penalties. Crucially, of those that do exist, many have been beset by computer glitches and a lack of access to the electricity grid.

The number of Vélib subscribers has dropped from 290,000 last year to 219,000. A public-sector worker who had used Vélib for a decade said: "I've basically given up. It has become impossible to get a bike."

Simon Labouret, of the cyclists' group Paris en Selle (Paris in the Saddle), said: "The Vélib fiasco is at complete odds with Paris's objective to get more people cycling."

#### Malaysian opposition leader an early target of fake news law

**Hannah Ellis-Petersen** South-east Asia correspondent

The opposition leader in the upcoming Malaysian elections is being investigated under the country's new fake news laws, police have confirmed.

Mahathir Mohamad, who was prime minister of Malaysia for two decades and is running again aged 92, claimed last weekend that people working for the government were responsible for the "sabotage" of his plane, to stop him registering as an election candidate.

On Wednesday Malaysian police said Mahathir was being investigated under the fake news legislation, which was rushed through parliament by the prime minister, Najib Razak last month, amid fears from human rights groups it could be used by the government against its opponents.

The complaint against Mahathir was filed by members of the ruling party, UMNO - which Mahathir used to lead - claiming that his allegations of sabotage fuelled an incorrect and damaging perception of the ruling coalition government, and therefore should be investigated under the legislation.

In an open letter published last Saturday, Mahathir detailed how a chartered plane due to take him to the island of Langkawi - where he is running as a parliamentary candidate for the elections on 9 May - suffered suspicious damage to the tyre so was unable to fly. He said other people had indicated they were "under pressure" not to lend him their aircraft as a back-up.

Mahathir arrived in Langkawi in time to register, but he said: "It is logical to believe that there is a deliberate attempt to stop me from going to Langkawi ... I maintain my belief that the plane was deliberately tampered with."

The allegations were dismissed by the Civil Aviation Authority of Malaysia and the aircraft company, Vista Jet, who both said it was a technical fault.

The decision to investigate Mahathir will fuel concern that the law was designed to silence Najib's critics before the election. Under the law, the government decides what constitutes fake news. The offence carries a jail sentence of up to six years and a fine of 500,000 ringgit (£93,000) for anyone who "maliciously" creates and distributes false information.



▲ Mahathir Mohamad is being investigated by police after he claimed his aeroplane had been sabotaged

# Sweden admits its national dish is culinary import from Turkey

#### Jon Henley

Turks have reacted with undisguised glee to what many have described as an official - and certainly long overdue-confession from Stockholm that Sweden's signature national dish is, in fact, Turkish.

"Those famous Swedish meatballs you get in Ikea are actually Turkish, admits Swedish government," tweeted TRT World, Turkey's publicly funded international television news channel.

"Swedish meatballs originally Turkish dish: Swedish government," said the headline in Hürriyet Daily News, after Sweden's official national Twitter account, @swedense, came clean last weekend.

"Swedish meatballs are actually based on a recipe King Charles XII brought home from Turkey in the early 18th century," the Swedish account revealed abruptly and for no

immediately apparent reason. "Let's stick to the facts!"

Turkey's Anadolu agency seized the chance to speak to Annie Mattsson, of the literature department at Uppsala University, who confirmed that, after losing a crucial battle against Russia in 1709, Charles and the remnants of his army took refuge in what is now Moldova, then part of the Ottoman empire.

Charles spent six years in exile in and around present-day Turkey.

Having acquired a taste for the local cuisine, he returned to Sweden in 1714 with the recipe for *köfte*, the spiced lamb and beef meatballs that in time became the Swedish staple *köttbullar*, and for the popular stuffed cabbage dish known in Sweden as *kåldolmar*.

In Turkey's meatball capital, İnegöl, this week, a local chef, İbrahim Veysel, told the Doğan news agency it was an honour that the Turkish dish should have become "an example to different cuisines all over the world".

Others were less happy. Serdar Çam, the president of the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency, complained that Ikea, which sells 2m meatballs a day in its restaurants, should not be selling the dish as though it were Swedish.

Örjan, the forlorn - though presumably tongue-in-cheek - Swede curating the country's @sweden tourism account on Twitter lamented that the news had shaken him. "My whole life has been a lie," he tweeted. In brief





PHOTOGRAPH:
TIM BRADBURY/GETTY

**Making a splash** Héctor Velázquez, a pitcher for the Boston Red Sox baseball team, douses his team-mate Mookie Betts with sports drink as Betts is interviewed after a 5-4 defeat of the Kansas City Royals. Betts hit three solo home runs, setting a record for the most 'three-homer' games by a Red Sox player.

#### **United States**

#### Teacher's badge protest as she meets Trump

A teacher of teenage refugees staged a silent protest by wearing several overtly political badges while receiving an award from Donald Trump this week.

Mandy Manning works at the newcomer centre at Joel E Ferris high school in Spokane, Washington, which specialises in English lessons for new refugees and immigrant students.

Trump presented her with the national teacher of the year award

in the White House and praised her "incredible devotion". The US president said: "Teachers like Mandy play a vital role in the wellbeing of our children, the strength of our communities and the success of our nation."

Manning wore six badges. Reports said that they included one with a poster for the Women's March that followed Trump's inauguration, one that said "Trans Equality Now" and one in the shape of an apple with a rainbow. Trump did not appear to notice the badges. Manning later said her students "make the US the beautiful place it is".

David Smith Washington

#### Switzerland

#### Lidl stores sell cannabis as tobacco alternative

You may have heard about its cutprice stollen. But you probably will not have sampled the latest range offered by the supermarket chain Lidl: locally grown cannabis.

Two products derived from hemp flowers are for sale in Swiss stores as an alternative to rolling tobacco.

A 1.5g box, from plants grown indoors, costs 17.99 Swiss francs (£13.20). A 3g bag of flowers grown in greenhouses is 19.99 Swiss francs. Switzerland changed the law in

2011 to allow people over 18 to buy and use cannabis with no more than 1% of tetrahydrocannabinol (THC), the plant's main psychoactive constituent. The products on sale in Lidl are designed to provide a relaxing and anti-inflammatory effect, but not to be intoxicating. "The legally cultivable varieties contain only very small amounts of THC and a high proportion of CBD [cannabidiol]," Lidl said.

The German supermarket said its supplier - The Botanicals - relied on sustainable agriculture and did not use chemical, synthetic or genetically modified substances. Daniel Boffey

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#### World



# Turkey's iron lady

# 'Now it's time for them, the men in power, to feel fear'

#### Kareem Shaheen Istanbul Gokce Saracoglu

tanding near a statue of the Turkish republic's founder, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, in the Black Sea town of Giresun earlier this year, Meral Akşener lambasted and mocked the ruling party of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

His apparatchiks had hurt their hands, she told the farmers in the crowd, counting the millions of euros with which they had enriched themselves while in office. Across the square a giant banner implored: "Save us, iron lady."

Whatever the president touched turned to dust, she said. He had once dubbed Bashar al-Assad, Syria's dictator and an ally turned foe, "Brother Assad".

"I hope he never calls me Brother Meral", she said to roaring laughter.

The 61-year-old Akşener, nicknamed Asena (She-wolf) by her admirers, has emerged as the only credible challenger to the incumbent president - the dominant figure in Turkish politics for the past 16 years - since last month when he called snap elections for 24 June, a year and a half ahead of schedule.

The winner of the poll will assume an executive presidency with sweeping powers that voters narrowly approved in a referendum last year. Polls show an easy victory for Erdoğan in the first round but a much tighter race, within the margin of error, in the second if he is pitted against Akşener.

"Back when everything was up in the air, I was the first person to declare my candidacy against Erdoğan," Akşener, leader of the İyi (Good) party, told the Guardian.

"I have said this since the beginning of the process: in the first round, everyone should simply vote for their own candidate; in the second round, for the sake of our democracy, for our country, the opposition should leave aside its bickering and support the opposition candidate, whoever it is.

"This election is one of the most

important elections of our country's history"

The ascendancy of Erdoğan's ruling and Islamist-oriented Justice and Development (AK) party has been a fact of Turkish political life for a decade and a half. It dominates the conservative and nationalist right after an alliance with the Nationalist Movement party (MHP) of Devlet Bahçeli, with whose help it was able to win in the referendum.

Akşener, the granddaughter of immigrants who arrived from Greece in the 1920s, was a veteran of Bahçeli's party, serving as interior minister in the 90s, until an insurgent challenge to his leadership forced her to leave.

She hopes her presidential campaign will attract both defectors from the AKP's camp and opposition members who are fed up with their political bloc's failure to defeat Erdoğan in any election since 2002.

Aksener has pledged to roll back the presidential system, put the country's relations with the EU back on track and restore the rule of law in Turkey, where freedoms have been curtailed under a state of emergency that has been in place since a failed coup attempt in July 2016.

"Having one person in charge will cost Turkey a lot in the middle and long term. Democracy is malfunctioning in Turkey and we need to re-establish it," Akşener said. "I am a practising Muslim ... but the mind that governs us must rely on laws. The state's secularism makes it possible to change laws that are made for people and to change them according to the needs of citizens over time."

Akşener emerged as the almost default candidate for the opposition after the former president Abdullah Gül - a founding member of the AKP who fell out with Erdoğan - decided not to run. The pro-Kurdish People's Democratic party (HDP) nominated its leader, Selahattin Demirtaş, who has been in prison since November

▲ Recep Tayyip Erdoğan faces a tight race if the poll goes to a second round

in Ankara

PHOTOGRAPH: MURAD
SEZER/REUTERS

2016. The Republican People's party
(CHP), a hardline secularist party
that has not won an election since
2002, will probably back Aksener as

a candidate who can reach across

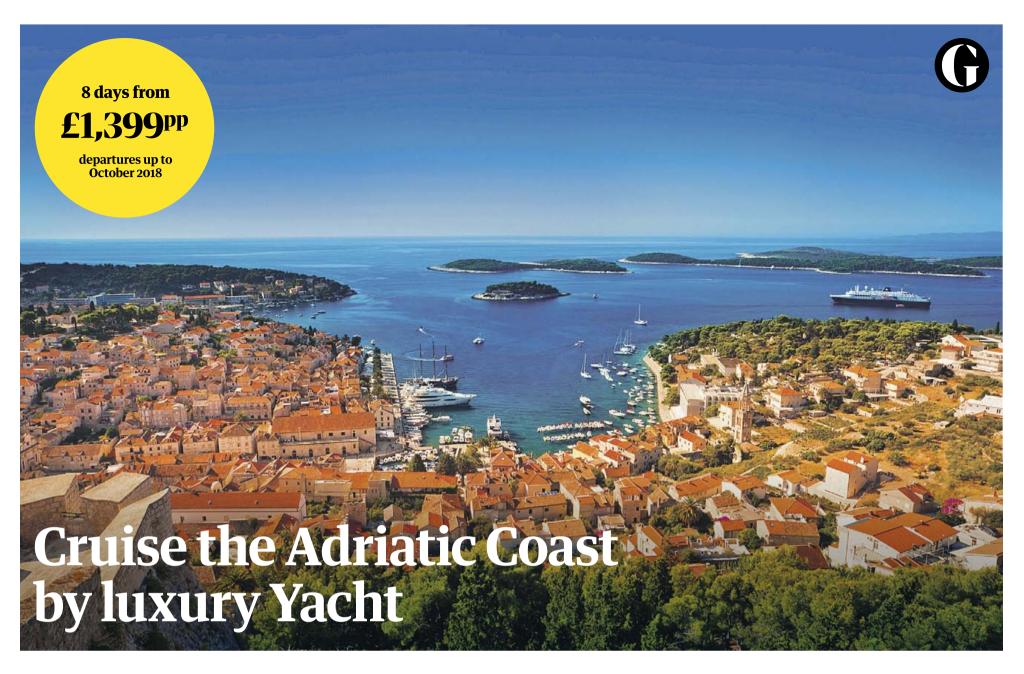
the aisle.

"Turkey is mainly a rightwing country," said Soner Cagaptay, director of the Turkish research programme at the Washington Institute and the author of a biography of Erdoğan. "Her party will be a serious challenge, at least a major headache to him from his soft flank, the right."

However, that rightwing appeal means Akşener must also contend with the ultranationalist and racist history of her political forebears, a legacy that means lyi has been compared to Europe's populist, anti-immigrant parties. It is a charge Akşener vehemently denies.

Kurdish voters in Turkey's south-east have always been wary of nationalist politicians, and Akşener's tenure as interior minister occurred during one of the worst periods of human rights violations by the state against Kurds in the region. She will face an uphill battle in convincing them to back her in a possible second round, and she has said little on efforts to resolve the Kurdish issue, speaking in more general terms about preserving the nation's identity while respecting the rights of minority groups.

Aksener has said her party, headed by the granddaughter of immigrants, is open to all identities. And, in a male-dominated political culture, she has another message: "Now it is time for them, the men in power, to feel fear."



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Nikkei 225 Closed for public holiday

Financial Financial



#### Gold is old

A miner searches for gold in Venezuela. Demand for the precious metal dropped between January and March, its weakest first quarter since the 2008 financial crisis. Demand has fallen 7% on a year ago, the World Gold Council said



PHOTOGRAPH: JUAN BARRETO/AFP/GETT

# UK growth forecasts slashed after first-quarter standstill

Economy now expected to increase by 1.4%, down from 1.9%, says leading thinktank

#### Larry Elliott and Phillip Inman

One of Britain's leading economic thinktanks has slashed its forecasts for 2018 following evidence that growth almost came to a halt in the first three months of the year.

The National Institute for Economic and Social Research (NIESR) said it now expected expansion of 1.4% in 2018 - down from the 1.9% it had been predicting three months ago - and predicted that interest rates would not rise until August at the earliest.

The NIESR economist Amit Kara said the "significant" downward revision was the result of official figures showing that the economy grew by only 0.1% in the first three months of the year, well below the 0.5% the thinktank had been forecasting.

"It is not clear if this is just a soft patch or the start of a prolonged period of weakness" Kara said, but he added that at present NIESR believed growth would pick up to average about 0.4% in each of the next three quarters.

With the latest snapshot of the UK service sector pointing to only a modest recovery in April from the weather-affected dip in activity in March, NIESR predicted that the Bank of England would delay the next rise in interest rates until August and then move only if the economy was growing at 0.4%-0.5% a quarter.

Services firms also reported the third-lowest level of business activity since the EU referendum in 2016, defying City economists' expectations of a stronger recovery after the cold snap in March. Firms that sell services to consumers were the worst hit, notably hotels and restaurants. The strongest expansion was in financial services.

The balance of responses from firms across all sectors left the Chartered Institute of Purchasing and Supply/ IHS Markit purchasing managers' index (PMI) at 53.2, up from 51.9 in March, but much lower than the 54.2 in February. A figure above 50 indi-

Chris Williamson, the chief business economist at IHS Markit, said: 'Services growth accelerated but, after March's low, was the second weakest for over one and a half years."

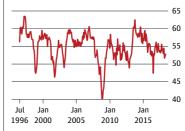
He added: "The weak services data follows news that manufacturing lost further momentum in April, with output rising at the second-slowest rate for just over a year. The brightest news came from the construction sector, which saw the largest monthly output rise since November, albeit after an especially sharp decline in March."

Paul Hollingsworth, at Capital Economics, said the weakness of the rebound in April would "do little to assuage fears that the economy has

suffered a loss of underlying momentum and makes the chances of a rate hike next week extremely slim".

Threadneedle Street policymakers meet on 10 May to judge the state of the economy and decide whether to increase interest rates for only the second time since the 2008 financial crash. Several members of the central bank's rate-setting committee indicated in the early part of the year that they were ready to increase the cost of borrowing, and several mortgage lenders raised the cost of their two-year fixed-rate loans in response. However, the likelihood of a rise has receded following a series of weak economic

#### UK service sector activity has risen to 52.8 showing faster growth, but still one of the weakest readings in the past two years PMI business activity index



Source: IHS Markit, ONS

indicators, forcing lenders to revise their outlook.

The IHS Markit PMI, which covers about 40% of the services sector and excludes high street shops, found that the rate of jobs growth, sales and investment were hit by uncertainty about the economic outlook as well as sluggish demand from consumers.

But it said optimism about the next 12 months had increased: "The balance of companies expecting a rise in business activity over the year ahead reached its highest level since January. This was attributed to forthcoming product launches, new marketing plans and discounting strategies."

NIESR predicts Britain's growth rate will recover to 1.7% in 2019 and 1.8% in 2020, provided the eventual Brexit deal guaranteed a high level of access for goods and services exports to the EU. Kara said: "Although the UK government and the EU have made progress with a transition agreement, there is still a risk that talks fail and the UK ends up trading under WTO rules."

It also believes that recruitment difficulties in the public sector and growing concerns over the impact of austerity on public services will force the government to spend more from 2019 onwards. Garry Young, another NIESR economist, said he believed that government spending cuts had now gone "too far".

# Jobs at risk as Virgin shuts call centre and fashion group falters

#### Zoe Wood and Sarah Butler

More than 1,500 jobs are at risk after Virgin Media announced plans to shut a Swansea call centre, and as the company behind the fashion brands Jacques Vert and Windsmoor teeters on the edge of collapse.

More than 1,000 jobs are on the line at Calvetron. Administrators are expected to be formally appointed at the parent group, Calvetron Style Holdings, today for what will be the second time in a year.

Virgin Media confirmed it was cutting jobs as part of a shake-up that will involve the closure of its call centre in Swansea and another site in Nottingham over the next two years. The

Swansea centre employs 792 staff. Some roles are being switched to Manchester.

The telecoms company said the decision was part of a £40m plan to create "fewer, higher-quality workplaces".

Virgin Media, which has 14,000 employees across more than 100 sites, is reducing the number of customer operations centres from eight to four, creating larger regional hubs in Wythenshawe in Greater Manchester, Bellshill near Glasgow, Gateshead, Teesside and Reading.

The Swansea West MP, Geraint Davies, described the job cuts as "catastrophe for our city".

"I'm stunned by the Virgin job losses, which is a traumatic shock for every family concerned and a body blow for Swansea," he said. Carolyn Harris, the Swansea East MP, said Virgin Media had handled the situation very badly and had "questions to answer" about the job losses.

Virgin Media's chief executive, Tom Mockridge, said: "We have proposed the closure of a small number of our offices over the next two years, including our call centre in Swansea and our current site in Nottingham.

"These changes will help deliver a more agile, digitally oriented experience, which our customers increasingly expect as standard."

Last summer, Calvetron was restructured in a rescue deal that resulted in several hundred job losses. It was acquired by a group of retail investors, which at the time included the former Jaeger owner Harold

Tillman and the businessmen Sandeep Vyas and Haseeb Aziz.

The business secured a £12.5m loan from Secure Trust Bank to fund its turnaround. But since then, fashion retailers have faced a tough market. The weather - an unusually warm autumn last year and miserable spring this year - has combined with the squeeze on consumers, the rising cost of labour and imported goods, a continuing switch to online shopping and a trend for shoppers to spend more on leisure than fashion, to create the harsh retail environment.

Store closures are planned at New Look and Carpetright, while Toys R Us and Maplin have collapsed. Mothercare and Homebase are also expected to close stores as they struggle to find new funding.

new funding.
Calvetron's problems have been magnified by difficulties at Debenhams and House of Fraser, two of its biggest retail partners.

At the time of the 2017 rescue, Calvetron had more than 1,200 UK staff working in shops in department stores.

Calvetron was not available to comment.

#### House of Fraser may be forced to set aside millions to cut pensions deficit

#### Sarah Butler

House of Fraser's rescue restructuring faces a hurdle after it emerged that the department store chain may have to fund a multimillion-pound injection into its pension schemes.

The ailing retailer could be required to set aside a significant sum to secure the support of the Pension Protection Fund (PPF), an industry-backed body that bails out troubled schemes.

The department store has approached the PPF as it plans to close stores and cut rents via a company voluntary arrangement (CVA), a form of insolvency that must be approved by creditors. Without the support of the PPF the CVA may fail.

Industry experts suggested House of Fraser will have to consider closing at least 20 sites under the CVA to ensure a viable future.

C.banner, the Chinese firm that bought a 51% stake in House of Fraser's parent company this week, has pledged to buy further shares for nearly £70m, some of which will help support a turnaround plan. It is thought the PPF may ask that some of these new funds be diverted to the pension schemes.

The firm runs two defined benefit schemes, which together are in a surplus by just under £100m on an accounting basis in the latest calculation in March. But the insolvency process automatically triggers the involvement of the PPF. It will be counted as a creditor in the CVA, partly because House of Fraser's pension schemes are understood to be tens of millions of pounds in deficit on a buyout basis, a more stringent analysis, which considers the cost of passing on the liabilities to an insurance firm.

John Ralfe, an independent pensions expert, said the schemes were likely to be significantly in deficit. "Sorting out House of Fraser's two pension schemes - with total liabilities of more than £600m in March 2018 - makes a CVA more difficult," he said.

The PPF forced Toys R Us, the now collapsed toy retailer, to pledge £9m in additional funding to support its scheme before agreeing to back a CVA in December last year.

However, it does not always demand cash. The PPF backed the recent CVA by Carpetright after being satisfied that the company's existing plan to tackle the £8.5m deficit over a number of years was sufficient. The PPF said it would not comment on the circumstances of "ongoing companies".

House of Fraser is also in talks with the Pensions Regulator over the impact of the C.banner deal. The watchdog, which can demand that companies take action to protect pensions, said: "We are in discussions with the company and the trustee of the pension scheme and will continue to monitor the situation."



#### Television's prime mover

Amazon's Prime Video became the fastestgrowing videoon-demand service in Britain last vear. Series such as the Marvelous Mrs Maisel, right, helped fuel a 41% year-onyear increase in subscribers to 4.3 million.



PHOTOGRAPH: SARAH SHATZ/AMAZON

# Watchdog to review proposed merger of Sainsbury's and Asda

#### Sarah Butler

MPs from two parliamentary committees have asked the competition regulator to examine how the merger of Sainsbury's and Asda - the UK's second and third-largest supermarket chains - might affect suppliers.

The merger of the chains could give them control of about 30% of grocery sales, a similar share to Tesco, and the two businesses would account for 60% of the market.

"The cost savings being promised through this merger must not come through squeezing those further down the supply chain," said the Tory MP Neil Parish, chair of the environment, food and rural affairs committee.

Parish said such power could make suppliers more reluctant to complain about unfair practices for fear of losing business.

Rachel Reeves, a Labour MP and

chair of the business, energy and industrial strategy committee, also called for examination by the Competition and Markets Authority: "This merger threatens customer choice, hands yet more power to mighty supermarket players and heaps more pressure on [smaller] suppliers."

The grocery code adjudicator, Christine Tacon, who regulates supermarkets' relationships with direct suppliers, was questioned in parliament on Wednesday. She said her remit did not cover prices agreed between the chains and their suppliers.

Parish suggested in the meeting that the government was "not concerned at all by the scale of these two major retailers that will be totally dominant in the marketplace", and said "Tesco and Sainsbury's might decide to get together, as the government didn't turn a hair."

George Eustice, the farming minister, said it was up to the CMA to examine the implications of the merger for consumers and the wider market methodically, and take any action necessary.

The CMA is expected to announce in the next few weeks whether it will carry out a broad brush "phase 1" review, which would last up to 40 days, or go straight to a more detailed "phase 2" process, in which it would examine competition concerns at a local level around the UK, action that would take up to 24 weeks.

#### **Business view Nils Pratley**



#### The shareholders' revolt should be a warning - Unilever has really annoyed a lot of people

hat's the starter out of the way, and Unilever's board will not have enjoyed it. Wednesday's 36% shareholder rebellion against a pay policy that could hand bigger bonuses to Paul Polman, the chief executive, and his senior colleagues was an embarrassment for a firm that likes to think of itself as being on the side of the angels in matters of governance.

Unilever got the simple majority it required, but the main course - the autumn vote on the proposal to become a purely Dutch company - is when the fun begins. Polman & co need 75% of the PLC shareholders, owners of one end of the currently Anglo-Dutch company, to sanction a switch to a single HQ in Rotterdam and a single class of share that would have its main listing in Amsterdam. Some UK fund managers hate the idea.

The main problem is that Unilever shares, as things stand, would disappear from the FTSE-100 index - indeed, all

FTSE indices. That would make it impossible for UK tracker funds and those with strict British investment mandates to own Unilever stock, A secondary listing in London is not useful if FTSE inclusion isn't part of the package. Fund managers fear they will be forced to ditch their holdings at depressed prices.

Unilever hasn't helped itself with its sniffy attitude. Columbia Threadneedle - which complained in March about a "lack of engagement with shareholders" - is the only public objector so far but other members of London's big long-only

'If the rules of FTSE qualification cannot be twisted to to include a Dutch-incorporated company, Unilever needs to think again'



Unilever plans its main listing in Amsterdam photograph: koen van weel/getty

club are privately seething. If the Investor Forum, the new lobbying collective, has not already taken up the cause, it should to do so. This is exactly the type of situation it was created to address. Tracker fund managers should be up in arms. Their job is to protect end-investors and being a semi-forced seller of a leading FTSE-100 company would be a terrible outcome.

There are signs that Unilever's board realises the vote may not be the walkover it assumed. Its chairman, Marijn Dekkers, told the meeting the company was talking to the FTSE index-compilers "to see if there is a possibility of inclusion".

If the FTSE rules of qualification cannot be twisted to include a Dutch-incorporated company, however, Unilever needs to think again. Whatever its true reasons for choosing the Netherlands (purely

commercial, and nothing to do with Brexit or takeover threats, it says), the plan cannot happen if 25% of PLC shareholders vote no.

On pay, that level was surpassed, even though greedier bonus schemes from other FTSE-100 firms have encountered less resistance. The looming poll on relocation may partly explain what happened. Maybe the 36% revolt was a warning shot. Unilever has seriously annoyed a lot of people.

**Sticking point** "I would like to thank CEO Rebecca Miskin and her management team for their tireless efforts to identify and capture growth assets for Gloo," says Arnaud de Puyfontaine, chairman of an Aim-listed startup that raised £30m in 2015 to hunt for digital media "transformation" opportunities but found nothing

worth transforming. Shareholders invested at 120p and are told to expect 47p-ish as it is liquidated.

In the circumstances, it should be Miskin expressing thanks. She's been paid an annual salary of £295,000 for three years, so the fruitless search hasn't been entirely worthless from her point of view. Indeed, she got a bonus of £106,000 on top last year and £122,000 the year before. Her colleague Bill Davis, who joined in July 2016, did better: a salary of £320,000 plus a £474,000 bonus last year.

For what? No acquisitions were made and Gloo's revenues were precisely zero. Richard Bernstein, of the activist fund Crystal Amber. thinks the bonus criteria must have been "breathing in and breathing out". Fair comment.

Gloo's recruits may have been high-flyers taking a career risk to ioin a startup, but a performancerelated bonus for trying hard but getting nowhere is nonsense.

#### Little alternative?

Another reason why the TSB's chief executive, Paul Pester, may have been so tetchy at the Treasury select committee is that his bank probably expected to collect a decent slug of the money in the so-called "alternative remedies package" fund. This is the cash that RBS had to cough up in place of spinning off 300 branches. Some £775m is earmarked to boost competition in the small business banking market.

TSB will still apply for funds, said the chairman, Richard Meddings, and, given the thinness of the field, it will probably still get something. But, after the IT shambles, it may be best to lower expectations.

#### Tesla's shares fall as Musk holds bizarre results call on record loss

#### **Adam Vaughan**

Tesla shares fell more than 7% yesterday after the firm posted a record \$710m loss and Elon Musk dismissed Wall Street analysts for asking "boring bonehead" and "dry" questions on the company's financial health.

The California-based company burned through more than \$745m in cash as it once again missed production targets for the Model 3, billed as its first affordable electric car.

 $Musk\,appeared\,to\,make\,light\,of\,the$ losses, tweeting "la la la" while linking to media reports of the results for the first three months of the year.

But it was the chief executive's behaviour during a bizarre results call with analysts that prompted investors to rebuke Tesla. The company's share price dropped 5% on Wednesday and slid further yesterday. More than \$3.4bn had been wiped off the value of the company between Wednesday morning and yesterday lunchtime as a result of the financial update and Musk's remarks.

During the call, the company's chief financial officer said Tesla was "best in class", only for Musk to correct him, saving the firm was simply "the best ... the best in a class of one"

After half an hour of being questioned on the company's prospects for the rest of the year, and efforts to ramp up its car factory in Fremont, California, Musk appeared to lose patience. "Next, next. Boring bonehead questions are not cool. Next," he said, cutting off one question.

He was then asked what percentage of customers had chosen to personally configure their Model 3, an indicator of potential future revenues as the car's \$35,000 starting price can rise to \$50,000 with options.

'Next, next. Boring bonehead questions are not cool. Next.'

Elon Musk Tesla CEO, in a call with analysts



But instead of answering, Musk said: "We're going to go to YouTube. Sorry, these questions are so dry, they're killing me."

The chief executive then answered numerous questions from the You-Tube channel HyperChange. Musk proceeded to take questions from the channel's host on Tesla's ride-sharing platform, self-driving cars and charging network.

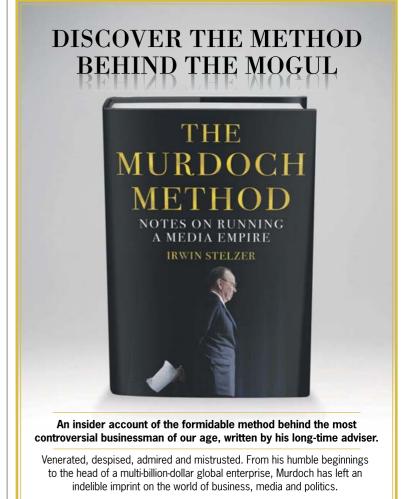
While losses deepened from \$675m for the final quarter of 2017 to \$710m in the first quarter of 2018, the company brought in more revenue than expected. Revenue grew by 26% from a year ago to a record \$3.4bn, up on analysts' estimate of \$3.28bn.

But Tesla, which has suffered production problems with the Model 3 and recently shut the Fremont plant briefly, struggled to hit its targets for the car. It turned out 9,766 Model 3 cars, missing its target of 10,000. However, more than 2,000 were made each week in April and the company insisted it was on track to hit its target of 5,000 a week by the end of June.

Tesla said it would probably be profitable in the third quarter of 2018 as the assembly lines ramps up.

Musk claimed the firm's next car, the Model Y, would be a "manufacturing revolution" because he did not want to go through the "pain" of the Model 3 production again.

Analysts at Morgan Stanley said the results call "didn't go very well", while RBC Capital Markets said that Musk "lacked answers to questions on investors' minds."



Find out how he did it.

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payouts are a public scandal says Labour











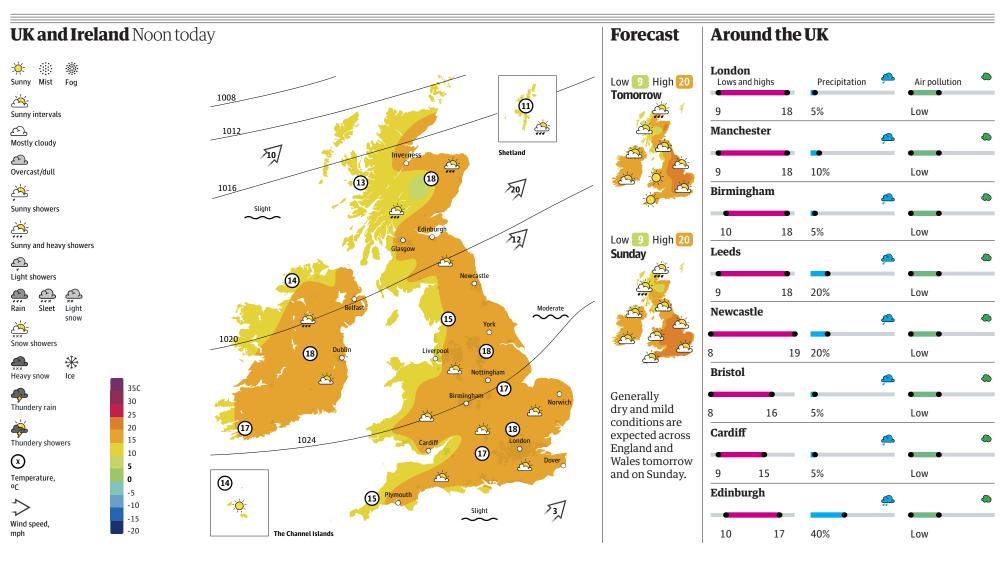
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Rotovation work starts in the forest as the wild boars wield their snouts like blades, yet woodland plants survive the mashing **Journal Country diary** Page 7

**Weather** *Friday 4 May 2018* 



# Atlantic front Low pressure will be across Finland.

1016

Cold front

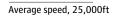
Warm front

Occluded front

Trough



The jet stream will move across most of Scotland and much of Denmark today.









260 and above

# Direction of jet stream Atlantic Ocean Forecasts and graphics provided by Accuweather, Inc @ 2018

976

992

#### **Spacewatch**

1008

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1032

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Blue Origin, the aerospace company owned by Jeff Bezos, Amazon's chief executive, has made the eighth test flight of its New Shepard reusable rocket and unmanned crew capsule, blasting off from Texas on 29 April.

After a 10-minute flight, during which the hydrogen-fuelled vehicle reached a velocity of 2,199 miles an hour and altitude of 66 miles, the rocket made a controlled touch down on Earth and the ejected crew capsule parachuted back down too.

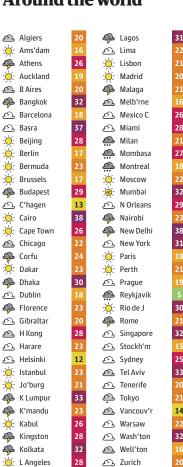
No people had been on the flight but the capsule carried experiments arranged by DLR (the German space agency) and Nasa. The flight also carried a test package to demonstrate that wifi communications could be achieved during the suborbital flights, an essential for the space tourism for which the rocket is designed.

Onboard too was a dummy astronaut, nicknamed Mannequin Skywalker, which was fitted with sensors to show what stresses the flight may impose on human bodies.

With the success of this mission, the company plan to arrange flights for the first people by the end of the year - then, in 2019, open the service up to paying space tourists.

Stuart Clark @DrStuClark

#### Around the world



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#### Cycling Brailsford

#### Brailsford takes heat as Froome sets off in Giro

*Page 42 →* 

**Boxing** 

Haye v Bellew II buildup takes comic turn

*Page 44 →* 



# Sport



Learning to fly
Mourinho is the
maestro when it
comes to managing
expectations

**Liam Rosenior** 



ccording to José Mourinho, it took him "20 years to become an overnight success". Having spent a few days this week on the final part of my Uefa pro licence coaching course, I am beginning to appreciate what he meant when he said that. Hours in the classroom and on the pitch, as well as giving presentations to fellow students, has made me more appreciative of the hard work that goes into qualifying to be able to do a job that I don't even know if I will one day be lucky enough to get.

Studying also gives an insight into the commitment, passion and application which someone like Mourinho has had to put into football in order to achieve the level of success he has. In a week when the world has been praising the courageous and attacking football which has taken Liverpool to the Champions League final, I have to say that I have just as much admiration and respect for the Manchester United manager as I have for Jürgen Klopp.

Mourinho brings his team to the Amex Stadium this evening for a match which is significant for both sides as we aim to secure our Premier League status and United attempt to finish the season in second place, with the added incentive of preparing for an FA Cup final against Chelsea just a couple of weeks away. Mourinho has proved himself a master of winning games in cup competitions and it's no wonder, given his pragmatic approach to preparing for every game in a specific way.

There have been a few times this season when he

has been hammered for playing so-called negative football - his tactics at Liverpool were a case in point - but criticising a coach for selecting a team and forming a gameplan to counter an opponent's strengths is like using a mallet to crack an egg.

Every coach will have his own beliefs about how the game should be played and that philosophy will be borne out by the way his team carry out instructions, but it is a very narrow mind which contests that one way is definitively better than another. Like everything else in the world, football undergoes cycles and you cannot tell me the high-scoring, attacking football of this season's Champions League is not an antidote or a reaction to the more defensive and cautious football which had been prevalent in the past 10 years or so.

The foundation for change in the game is a difference in style of coaches. Mourinho is unlike Pep Guardiola or Klopp in his philosophy, but his adaptability and core values are proven to achieve success against the very best.

ou may remember that it was
Mourinho's Real Madrid side who won
La Liga in 2011-12 against arguably
the greatest club side of all time in
Guardiola's Barcelona. Real did not beat
or even challenge Barça at their own
game because Mourinho believed he
knew how to get the better of them and
they achieved that courtesy of his forensic attention to
detail in preparations for a match. The modus operandi

detail in preparations for a match. The modus operandi is to ensure the players are ready for the battle with their direct opponent and that they are drilled to react to any scenario - from conceding a goal to finding your team reduced to 10 men.

Players who have won major trophies in Mourinho teams, such as Frank Lampard at Chelsea or Internazionale's Marco Materazzi, have spoken about his attention to detail and how that inspires confidence in his players and while Mourinho may have a mixed persona in public, one certainty is that the majority of his players love him and would run through brick walls for him.

However, it's not that simple. Arsène Wenger has correctly been praised for revolutionising English football in the late 90s with his introduction of sports science and diet changes, among other things, at Arsenal. It seems as if he could not or would not evolve with other changes in the game, though, and that's where the

Howard
Wilkinson
is adamant
that you
have to
survive
your first
70 games
as manager
if you are
to succeed

chameleon-like Mourinho may have the edge as he has incorporated the best of the rest into the running of the teams he has managed and then added his skill-set to succeed.

United have come up against a phenomenal Manchester City side who are very worthy champions this season, but in the same time frame as Guardiola has been manager at the Etihad Stadium, Mourinho has won the Europa League and League Cup, and could still add an FA Cup.

It is true that Guardiola's team and the shadow of Sir Alex Ferguson have set a high bar for him but ask fans if they prefer winning to losing and I know the answer you will get.

As an aspiring coach I have a firm handle on how I want my team to play and I admire and wonder at the way the likes of Guardiola, Klopp and Mauricio Pochettino have gone about their work. At the same time, I look at Mourinho and what he has won in his career by adopting a less evangelical approach to the game we all love. He has still managed to achieve great success regardless.

Howard Wilkinson has been one of our tutors on the pro licence course and he is adamant you have to survive your first 70 games as a manager to have any chance of succeeding long term. Should I get the opportunity to coach one game, never mind 70, then I would be looking to combine the beautiful with the practical.

### Team Sky are accused of being economical with the truth over Froome's status

Giro unhappy after paying €1.4m for presence of underinvestigation Tour winner

#### **Martha Kelner** Jerusalem

Team Sky have been accused of deceiving the organisers of the Giro d'Italia into handing over a reported €1.4m in appearance fees by not disclosing that their star rider Chris Froome had already failed a drug test.

According to the Giro race director, Mauro Vegni, Dave Brailsford's team entered into negotiations over Froome's appearance in the Giro knowing the rider had returned an adverse finding from a urine test on his way to winning the Vuelta a España in September last year.

Sky secured a hefty fee for the four-times Tour de France winner and a support team to contest the Giro, which begins today in Jerusalem, the first time the race has travelled outside Europe. But on the eve of the event. Vegni made the remarkable claim that he felt let down by Brailsford after the Guardian and the French newspaper Le Monde made public news

#### Giro in a nutshell



of Froome's failed test in December. Vegni said this was the first time he became aware of the anti-doping case lingering over the Briton, which could lead to his being suspended from cycling for several months.

Asked if he felt deceived by Brailsford, who was knighted for services to cycling in 2013, Vegni replied: "Definitely, yes. The negotiations with Team Sky took place before the Giro presentation so I would have expected within a correct relationship to be informed. I didn't really like this."

In a bid to repair relations with the organisers, Brailsford flew to Italy to explain the situation. "I did express my thinking on the phone to Dave, he came immediately to Italy to meet with me," Vegni said. "Dave himself was not pleased and he told me that in  $fact\,he\,did\,not\,receive\,the\,information$ until the end of September. But he also said to me that he was confident that this whole issue will find a solution."

The launch of the 101st edition of the Giro took place last November, with Froome confirming his participation via a video message. The 32-year-old arrived in Israel this week confident of clinching triple crown of grand tour wins: the Tour de France, Vuelta a España, and now Giro, all in a row. But there is every chance his Vuelta title could be taken away if he receives an anti-doping rule violation.

Froome is attempting to explain why a urine test submitted after the 18th stage of the Vuelta on 7 September indicated twice the permitted level of the asthma drug salbutamol. Cycling's world governing body, the UCI, sent a letter to Team Sky, Froome and British Cycling to inform them of the failed test on 20 September. It is understood talks with Giro organisers began in the following weeks.

Vegni expressed his frustration that it had taken so long to reach a verdict. "I feel bad because of the extremely long times of the justice procedure. With the current means that are available to not have a decision made after eight months, something needs to change. We don't even know when a decision will finally arrive."

 $In a \, statement, Team \, Sky \, said: ``The$ UCI process regarding Chris would normally have remained confidential. The team wanted to fully respect this but since it became public we have stayed in regular touch with the Giro organisers about it. We received and agreed the final race contract within the last three weeks - obviously some



grand tour titles at the same time TIM DE WAELE/GETTY IMAGES

**Twould have** expected within acorrect relationship to be informed. I didn't really like this'

Mauro Vegni

Giro race director

organisers they have been supportive of Chris's participation in the race. We love the Giro. We are honoured to be competing at it and we can't wait for

The extent to which Froome's participation has dominated the buildup to this race was enforced in the pre-race press conference. It took 33 minutes before any rider other than Froome or any of the other 21 teams competing here was discussed.

"Thank you for someone who recognises that it is not just Chris Froome at the Giro," an exasperated Vegni said. Froome's principal rival in the next few weeks is likely to be Tom Dumoulin. The Dutch defending champion has had a tumultuous start to the season but Vegni intimated that a victory for Domoulin would be better than if Froome triumphed in Rome on 27 May.

"As organiser, I don't really support

said. "He is good for cycling as a whole. Let's say that it would be really a good outcome for the Giro."

The mounting tensions over Froome's presence are not the only contentious issue to plague the Giro this year. The decision to hold the opening three stages of the race in Israel has also led to the organisers being accused of "sport-washing", using the event to distract from the rising heat of the Palestine conflict.

The team presentation yesterday evening took place on a giant pink stage in Jerusalem's Safra Square, with smoke cannons and disco lights, introduced by the supermodel Bar Refaeli. But today, less than 100km from here, the protests on the Gaza strip which have taken place every week since 30 March will continue unabated. The Israeli military has reportedly killed 35 Palestinians and injured

#### Three to watch at the Giro

#### Tom Dumoulin Netherlands

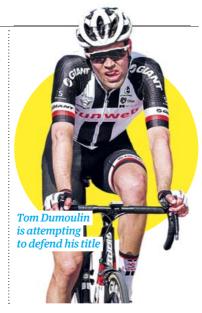
The Dutchman is attempting to defend the pink jersey he won after overturning a 53sec deficit to seal victory on the final day, but he has had a torrid start to the season.

#### **Thibaut Pinot France**

After attempting the Giro and Tour double last season he will tackle the same challenge again, hoping for a better result after finishing fourth behind Dumoulin last year.

#### **Simon Yates Great Britain**

With two stage wins and an overall second-place finish at the Paris-Nice, the 25-year-old British rider has proved he is not overawed by the big occasions. **Martha Kelner** 



more than 5,500 others during these protests, with Amnesty International suggesting some have been shot from behind and intentionally maimed. The tensions mean that an unprecedented police presence will be deployed along the route. More than 4,000 officers and two helicopters are securing the roads and the perimeter.

Superintendent Mickey Rosenfeld, the Israel Police national spokesman, said it was the biggest sporting event to be held in Israel's history.

"We're focusing on a mega-sport event and not political or security related issues," he said. "But we are taking no chances. Our units will be at the right place at the right time. We are coordinating with border police, undercover units, special patrol units and our assessments will be made as events unfold. But no rider has personally expressed any misgivings about coming to Israel, as far as we have."

#### History repeats for Wild but Tanfield pulls out opening home shock

William Fotheringham

Doncaster

While Kirsten Wild of the Netherlands produced a carbon copy of her victory here two years ago in the mass finish that decided the women's race, the men's event veered a long way from the script with the shock winner, Harry Tanfield, producing headshakes in the peloton as he gave Great Britain its first stage win in four editions.

After using her experience to avoid confusion in the final kilometre, Wild ended up in the blue Yorkshire leader's jersey but she is adamant that the uphill finish on the Cow and Calf climb above Ilkley today will not suit her and that she is only a temporary race leader; Tanfield is not a noted climber either and would probably say the same.

Wild's memories of her win in this event two years ago stood her in good stead when several frontrunners followed a motorbike when it turned left into the race vehicle diversion instead of going right at the final roundabout with 800m to go. As others dodged through cones to get back on course, Wild's team went to the front earlier than they expected, but she still sat pretty until the final crucial moment with all the sang-froid to be expected of a woman in her 15th racing season, heading for her 73rd race win.

The key instant came as South Parade veered gently right in the final 200m past the Town Fields. Here, the 2016 world champion, Amalie Diederiksen - the rider who deprived Wild of the gold medal in that year's title in Qatar - was poised to lunge through a gap to Wild's right, only for the 35-year-old to show her nous by moving briskly to close the door, leaving the Dane with nowhere to go.

"I should have gone left not right," Diederiksen said after finishing second, just ahead of the Briton Alice Barnes. "It was smart of her to close me against the barriers. It was not dangerous, if I'd been further in front it wouldn't have been nice, but it was only part of my front wheel [overlapping]." Like several others, Diederiksen had to dodge the cones.

"There were two motorbikes, one went left, one right, the front girls followed the wrong one." Today Wild will become a team

Today Wild will become a team rider working for Wiggle High5's climbers Elisa Longo Borghini and Lisa Brennauer as the race heads for the hills around Otley and Pool in Wharfedale before the final two-kilometre climb on to the moors. It should also suit Great Britain's Dani King, who had planned to target time bonuses on this flat stage, and landed four seconds which could prove useful in the final reckoning.

On the largely flat roads of South Yorkshire, the stronger teams sat tight with today in mind, which left openings for the British squads. Trek-Drops sent Anna Christian ahead for the latter part of the stage while Jadan-Weldtite team gambled by sending their junior Pfeiffer Georgi - the strongest under-18 woman in Europe - off from the gun. It was a move which netted the 17-year-old the only ranked climb of the day, and with it the Best Climber's jersey, justifying her team's presence in the race.

A few hours later Tanfield, riding for the British Canyon-Eisberg team, produced the biggest upset this race has seen to date when he outsprinted five survivors of a half-dozen permitted five minutes' lead in the expectation that the peloton would reel them in for a mass finish contested by the likes of Mark Cavendish and Ben Swift. But the group remained fully committed, with the Commonwealth Games time trial silver medallist Tanfield producing particularly long turns to keep the speed high.

The sprinters' teams never quite got their act together, and the quintet retained a slender lead for what was less a final dash than a matter of summoning up any remaining reserves after a long day; Tanfield drove hard through the centre as they fanned across the road to win by over a length from JLT-Condor's Alistair Slater.

"I went from the back and built and built. Everyone was gassed. It wasn't really what you would call a sprint, more a time trial to the line." And as he showed in April on the Gold Coast, time trialling is what he is good at.



▲ Kirsten Wild surges clear to win stage one of the women's Tour de Yorkshire ALEX WHITEHEAD/SWPIX.COM/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK

Rovino

# Bellew expects Haye 'to go down swinging' in rematch

Jay from The Inbetweeners lightens the buildup but return to the O<sub>2</sub> Arena could be hellish for both fighters

#### **Kevin Mitchell**

Away from their ritual pre-fight shove for the TV cameras at a London hotel yesterday, a more considered Tony Bellew paused to observe that, for all the insults and mind games, he expects David Haye to "go down swinging" when they meet again tomorrow night.

Bellew, a slight favourite, does not like the one-time playboy, of whom he says: "I just don't like the look of him, I just want to punch him in the face and he wants to punch every single tooth out of my head."

He also recognises beating Haye again will be every bit as tough as it was in March last year, "because he's a fighter at heart".

That might have been the extent of the public respect between the Liverpudlian, who is happy to lampoon himself as "the big, fat Scouser", and the unusually subdued Haye but they know their return to the O<sub>2</sub> Arena could be hellish for both of them.

Bellew, two years younger at 35, capitalised on Haye's snapped achilles in the first fight, leaving him tangled and incapacitated on the bottom rung in the 11th round, a sight disturbing enough for Shane McGuigan, his trainer of only three fights, to throw in the towel.

Haye and McGuigan split soon afterwards and he has been training for several months with the revered Cuban Ismael Salas, who guided Félix Savón Jr to the pinnacle of the amateur game.



▲ Tony Bellew (left) and David Haye ignore the concept of personal space FRANK AUGSTEIN/AP

As for their post-interview spat, when Bellew shoved Haye in the face-off - and the promoter, Eddie Hearn, even looked as if he were about to get involved - Haye said: "I've looked at the video of it and he's got his head in my face and then he pushed me in the neck.

"The pressure has got to him. I think he's starting to crack. He wasn't getting what he wanted from his verbal assaults, arguing over the most trivial things that have got no bearing on a boxing match. He was just saying stuff to try to wind me up. He's a strange fella."

Bellew, an artfully argumentative character, saw the handbaggery differently. "He just got too close to me," he said. "He put his forehead on me and, if I'd stayed where I was, we would have kissed. It's not that kind of party.

"Once I felt his breath on me, I had to remove him from the area. Listen, it was a shove. Don't make a big deal out of it. The only thing he will have learned from that is, don't get too close to me."

They will get uncomfortably close in the ring, with a lot of unfinished business to attend to. They should have met in December but Haye fell down some stairs and injured himself for the umpteenth time away from the ring in a career bedevilled by such incidents. Bellew, whose brother-in-law had died shortly beforehand, described the year as "the worst of my life".

So each arrives with baggage and

I want to punch him in the face and he wants to punch every single tooth out of my head'

they displayed much of it in their final press conference before a fight Haye has to win to stay in boxing and Bellew promises will be "a war".

There is hardly a heavyweight bout in history that has not been burdened with that sort of rhetoric but the signals this time are confused.

For weeks Haye has toned down his language and posturing, which once were his trademarks, while Bellew, garrulous to a fault, has pecked away at him, almost bullying the bully, and hoping to make him crack.

When it came to shove, there was no pushback, though. Haye stayed cool and much of that will be owing to his new partnership with Salas, a short, barrel-chested man with a big smile and an impressive cv. On Wednesday, he was filmed wearing shoes with outrageous platforms to lift him to within his fighter's eyeline, as Haye hit the mitts and body bag.

Proceedings were briefly lightened yesterday when "Jay" from The Inbetweeners - James Buckley - sauntered to the stage to banter with Bellew on behalf of Haye. Salas, though, is no straight-man in a comedy act. He is a serious player in the fight game, mentor to a string of world champions, including Jorge Linares, who takes on the best pure boxer, Vasyl Lomachenko, in Madison Square Garden on 12 May.

Salas has instructed Haye to "sit down more" on his punches and the fighter has acknowledged the finetuning he has done, particularly his footwork, which has let him down in recent fights.

Bellew has been equally meticulous. "What I didn't prepare for last time was an injured David Haye sitting on the ropes, waiting to counter with a big right hand," he said. "I just didn't see that coming but I've even prepared for that in this fight, with a man lying on the ropes looking for a big right-hand counter. Once I'm into the later rounds in sparring, I've had a fresh sparring partner come in, who's very good on defence, and just looks for one big shot."

There are likely to be more of them this time than in last year's fight. This time, the stakes are higher, especially for Haye, who will have nowhere to go if he loses.

#### Cricket

#### Surrey snap up Kohli as he bids to tune up for Test series

Ali Martin

Surrey have pulled off a coup by signing Virat Kohli, the India captain and cricket's premier all-format batsman, for the whole of June.

Kohli had originally declared some 18 months ago his interest in playing county cricket before India's Test series in England this summer. The 29-year-old will now get his wish with a four-week spell during which he will grace the likes of Beckenham, Guildford and Scarborough.

Described as "the biggest name in world cricket" by Surrey's director of cricket, Alec Stewart, upon completion of the deal yesterday, Kohli will be available to play in the club's Royal London Cup matches during that month and three County Championship fixtures.

It is the latter, of course, that interest him most as he looks to prevent a repeat of his last outing against the red Dukes ball when, in 2014, he averaged 13.4 over five Tests as India lost 3-1 against England under the captaincy of MS Dhoni. Kohli, who will now skip India's one-off Test versus Afghanistan in mid June, said: "It has long been an ambition of mine to play county cricket. I am thankful to Alec Stewart and Surrey for allowing me the opportunity."

Surrey have just one match at the Oval during Kohli's stay, with a 50-over fixture at home against Glamorgan on 6 June preceded by games against Kent at Beckenham and Middlesex at Lord's. His championship appearances will then be versus Hampshire at the Ageas Bowl, Somerset at Guildford and Yorkshire at Scarborough.

The England head coach, Trevor Bayliss, has previously bemoaned a lack of overseas opportunities for his players in first-class cricket and will doubtless have had a wry smile upon learning that Kohli will join the likes of Ishant Sharma (Sussex) and Cheteshwar Pujara (Yorkshire) in getting an early tune-up for the Test series that begins on 1 August.

Jonathan Trott, the Warwickshire and former England batsman, will retire from cricket at the end of the county season. The 37-year-old was a key member of the England side who won the Ashes in Australia in 2010-11 and then rose to No 1 in the world the following summer. He made nine Test centuries - including one on debut - and averaged 44 from his 52 games.



▲ Virat Kohli endured a poor run during India's 2014 tour of England

Kacing

#### Uncharted waters with Tip Two Win have Teal all at sea

Chris Cook

Roger Teal is looking forward to the 2,000 Guineas tomorrow so much he cannot wait for it to be over.

"It'll be nice to get the day out the way, for sure," says the trainer, whose nerves have been unravelling since he committed to taking a shot at the race with Tip Two Win, a David among the Goliaths of Godolphin and Ballydoyle. "We've never experienced this before. It's all brand new to us."

Teal's most notable success in

Britain was the Darley Stakes of 2009, in which he beat the big names of Newmarket with a 25-1 winner, Steele Tango. Now he is trying to turn a similar trick at similar odds in a race of much greater consequence.

"You wake up at funny hours of the morning, worrying: 'Should I have done this, should I have done that?' I found myself waking up at half three the other morning and then you can't get back to sleep."

Teal makes a Classic runner sound like a kind of torture. When the jockey David Probert dropped by the stable in Great Shefford, near Lambourn, yesterday, the trainer's first words to him were: "This seemed a good idea two months ago ..."

With a laugh Teal added: "I am enjoying it but it's nerve-racking at the same time. The whole team in the yard is buzzing."

The 50-year-old Teal and his grey will make a pair of outsiders at Newmarket. The other trainers in the Guineas are, in most cases, backed by big money and have stables well

stocked with blue-blooded thoroughbreds. "It'd be nice to go out and have 10 Dubawi's looking at you," said Teal, referring to one of the most popular and expensive of stallions. "Some people are spoilt for choice. But I'm not jealous," he added, laughing again.

Teal, whose mother trained pointto-pointers, started in racing on the bottom rung as a teenage groom with

#### **Chris Cook's tips**

Lingfield 1.50 Chelwood Gate 2.20 Fitzrovia
2.50 Crossing The Line 3.20 Al Barg
3.50 Accomplice 4.20 Waneen 4.50 Storm Again
Chepstow 2.00 Astute Boy 2.30 Coeur Blimey
3.00 Pastamakesufaster 3.30 Narble Bar 4.00
Grandma Tilly 4.30 Desert Ace 5.00 Unblinking
Musselburgh 2.10 Ahlan Bil Emarati
2.40 Lydiate Lady (nb) 3.10 Kodicat
3.40 Mosalim (nap) 4.10 Four Kingdoms
4.40 Trading Point 5.15 Adventureman
Cheltenham 4.55 Monsieur Gibraltar 5.30 Velvet
Cognac 6.05 Stoleaway 6.40 Barel Of Laughs 7.15
Frelia 7.50 Supreme Danehill 8.25 Bear's Affair
Newcastle 5.10 Photographer 5.45 Karawaan
6.20 Highwayman 6.55 Brian Ryan 7.30 Von
Blucher 8.05 Independence Day 8.40 Stewardess

John Jenkins in Surrey. He moved on to Philip Mitchell's yard, where he may have got a taste for giantkilling through the exploits of Running Stag, winner of big pots in the US and France and the runner-up in the Hong Kong Cup.

Tip Two Win has already done Teal proud, landing a race in Qatar in February that brought more prize money than the stable won in the whole of last year. He sees the horse as "a lively outsider", adding: "I'm not a trainer that just goes there for days out. He just keeps surprising me. And hopefully on Saturday at 20 to four, he can surprise me again.

"He'll look out of place in the paddock because he's not over-big. He's not muscular or anything but he's an athlete. He's got some engine on him.

"This is what we're in the game for. We've worked long and hard for years, the whole team has. Our team does as much prep as Aidan O'Brien's but we just don't have the calibre of horse. It would mean so much if we could go there and get a place on the day, it'd be lovely."





MATTHEW STOCKMAN/ GETTY IMAGES **Race against time** Serena Williams has withdrawn from next week's Madrid Open while she continues to regain full fitness for the French Open later this month. The 36-year-old returned to the WTA tour in March after giving birth last September but was beaten by her sister Venus in her comeback tournament at Indian Wells and last played in her first-round defeat to Japan's Naomi Osaka at the Miami Open last month

#### Athletics

### Kiprop claims drug testers tampered with sample

#### **Sean Ingle**

**Sport** 

Snooker

In brief

Asbel Kiprop has suggested he tested positive for EPO because drug control officers tampered with his sample, having also demanded money from the Kenyan 1500m runner during the test.

Kiprop, a three-times world champion and 2008 Olympic gold medallist, said he would be "the last person to commit such an atrocious un-sportslike thing" as doping.

He also claimed he was told that if he confessed to taking drugs he would be made an ambassador of athletics' governing body, the IAAF. "I have

Higgins has advantage

in opening semi-final

John Higgins will take a 5-3 lead

into the second session of his world

Wilson. The four-times champion

championship semi-final with Kyren

refused, as this is not only untrue but also a fraud," he said. "I do not need absolution on the allegations."

In a four-page statement, the 28-year-old said he been notified about a drugs test a day in advance, which is against World Anti-Doping Agency rules, and that two men had come to his house in Kenya on 27 November last year

"After the doping control officers arrived at 7.50am, and after I had given them the urine sample, a DCO [the Guardian has chosen not to name the individual for legal reasons] asked for the first time in their visits if I could give them some money. He did not specify how much they needed. At

raced into a 3-0 lead and then

8.11am I forwarded to them money through his phone using M-Pesa. As a police officer I found it wise to send by M-Pesa for record.

"At that time I did not see the money as inducement or bribe for anything. I gave it in good faith thinking they may have some need known to them. In retrospect I now clearly see the money as having a relation with the sample collected on that date."



Kiprop, who is the third fastest 1500m runner in history, also pointed out that if he had EPO in his system he could have chosen "to miss the collection without consequences" as Wada punishes athletes only for three missed tests.

He said: "I remain perplexed on how my innocent sample could turn positive on the only time when money was extorted from me. It is not beyond my suspicion that my sample turned positive because I might have remitted less money than I was expected to remit."

Kiprop said he was "extremely shocked" when he was told in early February he had failed a drugs test. "I was, however, very confident the mistake alleging I doped would be noted and I would be cleared. [But] the nightmare has continued. I insist I am innocent even if I am forsaken."

An IAAF spokesperson said it was unable to comment and referred the Guardian to the Athletics Integrity Unit, which has so far not responded.

#### Rugby union

#### Foden seeks new chapter after ending Saints story

#### Robert Kitson

Ben Foden is to bring down the curtain on his decade-long association with Northampton to commence a "new chapter" abroad. The former England full-back, 32, is set to sign off tomorrow by making his 250th appearance for the Saints when they play Worcester at Franklin's Gardens.

Having started in professional rugby as a scrum-half at Sale, Foden developed into an attacking full-back good enough to win 34 England caps between 2009 and 2013. He scored seven Test tries, won league titles with Sale in 2006 and Northampton in 2014 and also scored a try in the 2011 European Cup final when the Saints were spectacularly overhauled by Leinster in Cardiff.

His innate understanding with his former team-mate Chris Ashton was particularly fruitful and in 2014 Foden became only the second player to score tries in consecutive Premiership finals. He played 22 games at full-back during that double-winning season as Northampton won the Challenge Cup and Premiership.

"Fodes has been a remarkable player for both Northampton Saints and England," the interim head coach, Alan Dickens, said. "We'll miss having him around Franklin's Gardens, both in terms of what he offers on the pitch as a player and a leader, but also as a character in the dressing room."

The forwards coach, Dorian West, said: "Fodes has given the supporters at Saints many happy memories and I'm sure they will repay him with a huge ovation on Saturday. He has the respect of everyone here and we wish him all the best for his next step."

Foden will lead out the Saints against Worcester but will not be walking away from the sport. His next move is not yet finalised but a prominent Major League Rugby franchise in the United States is understood to be interested in signing him.

One of his former Northampton team-mates, Alex Corbisiero, is working as a rugby analyst for the North American broadcaster NBC but Foden is not tempted to join him and hang up his boots just yet.

"I still feel fit and hungry for competitive rugby and, while now is the time to move on, I am really excited for what the next chapter holds in store for me," he said.



▲ Ben Foden's 250th appearance for Northampton will also be his last

endured a mini Wilson fightback before clinching the final frame of the day. Higgins forged ahead with breaks of 57, 65 and 77 befor Wilson - in his first semi-final at t

with breaks of 57, 65 and 77 before Wilson - in his first semi-final at the Crucible - finally got on the board before the mid-session interval. The Scot restored his advantage after the resumption with a frame-winning clearance of 69, but the 26-year-old found his form to claim the next two, including a brilliant break of 140 in

the seventh. But Wilson missed an

inviting red in the final frame of the

day and Higgins took advantage, clearing to the pink, as he aims to reach a seventh final in Sheffield. **PA** 

#### Baseball

#### Red Sox and Yankees to play at London Stadium

Major League Baseball intends to announce next week the New York Yankees and Boston Red Sox will play two games at the London Stadium on 29 and 30 June next year, a source told The Associated Press. comments had been authorised.
Boston will be the home team for both of MLB's first regular-season games in Europe. The London Mayor, Sadiq Khan, scheduled a news conference for Tuesday with baseball commissioner Rob Manfred but did not announce the subject matter.
"I've never been to London, so I'm looking forward to that," the Yankees manager, Aaron Boone,

said yesterday. AP

The person spoke on condition

of anonymity because no public

Sport Football

Klopp's thrash-metal style hits a chord with English ideal of pace and power

Created by a German and led by an Egyptian genius, Liverpool are oddly indigenous in their style

**Barney Ronay** 

ccording to Benjamin Disraeli Rome symbolises the ideal of conquest. Not quite yet, it doesn't. Liverpool may have earned their moments of unbound joy inside the Stadio Olimpico on Wednesday, capped by a lovely interlude as Jürgen Klopp went bowling through the security lines to exchange a little joyful energy with the Liverpool fans, waving his arms like a drunken dad at Christmas all goofy warmth and unaffected pleasure in a shared achievement.

But as Klopp pointed out, nothing has been settled. The run to the final has had its memorable subplots. From James Milner's elevation to the status, on the season's stats, of most creative player in the history of modern European football. To the sustained excellence of Andy Robertson. To the spectacle of players as diverse as Loris Karius and Ragnar Klavan blocking it out en route to a Champions League final.

Still, no permanent mark has been made and certainly Real Madrid will present a different kind of obstacle. For the first time this season Liverpool face a meeting with European aristocracy. Deep down Real will see them as extras in this show, a disposable piece of ballast, there to provide a backdrop to the imperial parade.

Yet for all that it is perhaps time to park thoughts of Kiev and wallow just a little in the moment, because Klopp is wrong in one sense. Something significant has been achieved. First for Klopp himself; and second for English football, so angst-ridden in its endless search for things such as identity and purpose, for the right DNA, the right borrowed suit of clothes.

Yes: it's time to talk about Jürgenand about us. Man is never so manly as when he feels deeply and acts boldly. That was also Disraeli but it could at a pinch be a Klopp-ism, just without the guffaws and the swearing and the slang, a Victorian translation of one of those asides tossed into his rambling late-night press conferences.

Liverpool have been down this road but the boldness, the deep feeling of this team, is Klopp's own work. This is a manager who has done that rare thing of rebuilding a team entirely in his own image in the space of two years and eight months. Klopp signed eight of the Liverpool players on the pitch in Rome and gave another his professional debut. There is nothing in this team that isn't basted in his juices. Liverpool lost their best (inherited) player in January and still got better on the back of it - got a new best player, a better best player.

Klopp has always been a systems manager. He remains wedded to his founding revelation at Mainz that the right tactics implemented correctly can beat better players.

This is the other big thing about this Liverpool team in a Champions League final. As Emlyn Hughes once said: "The greatest good you can do for another is not to share your riches but to reveal to him his own." Actually that was also Disraeli but it

► Jürgen Klopp is mining the deep roots of English football culture ALESSANDRO GAROFALO/NAFOTO ► Dejan Lovren jumps for joy at reaching the European Cup final in Kiev CIAMBELLI/SIPA/REX







#### **Road to Kiev**

#### How Liverpool and Real Madrid reached the final

	Liverpool	Real Madrid
Prelim	Hoffenheim Won 2-1; Won 4-2	N/A N/A
Group	Sevilla	Apoel
	Drew 2-2; Drew 3-3 Spartak Moscow	Won 3-0; Won 6-0 Borussia Dortmund
	Drew 1-1; Won 7-0 <i>Maribor</i>	Won 3-1; Won 3-2 Tottenham Hotspur
	Won 7-0; Won 3-0	Drew 1-1; Lost 3-1
Last 16	<b>Porto</b> Won 5-0; Lost 1-0	Paris Saint-Germain Won 3-1; Won 2-1
Quarter-final	Manchester City	Juventus
Semi-final	Won 3-0; Won 2-1 Roma	Won 3-0; Lost 3-1 Bayern Munich
	Won 5-2; Lost 4-2	Won 2-1; Drew 2-2

▼ Liverpool fans had five English players to cheer at various times against Roma at the Stadio Olimpico





captures Klopp's potential to affect English football more widely.

Real are fitting opponents in this sense. Liverpool's 4-0 defeat of pre-Ronaldo Madrid in March 2009 is an overlooked staging point in the modern history of European club football. It was after seeing their team physically overpowered by Gerrard and Mascherano, Kuyt and Carragher (and also Babel, Spearing and Dossena) that Real made a slight change of policy, re-gearing to match the power of the Premier League. That summer 13 players left. Cristiano Ronaldo arrived, as did Karim Benzema and Liverpool's own Xabi Alonso and Álvaro Arbeloa.

hat Premier League intensity had revealed something to Real. The hope now is Klopp's example may do something similar for English football. Like it or not Liverpool are deeply Premier League, oddly indigenous in their style. This is a distinction, not a judgment. For all the brilliance of Manchester City, the Pep Guardiola system is entirely its own entity - no less or no more valid, but with its own fascinations and contrasts. Whereas Liverpool's hard-pressing, chancy physicality just feels like a good fit with the strangely persistent texture and tone of the game in this country, the way qualities such as pace and power still emerge even through the prism of Premier League cosmopolitanism.

Perhaps this idea of shared identity should not matter: football is a global, borderless entity now, existing only in that square of green. But the notion of different footballing cultures, of an English way, matters to Klopp, who has spoken in these pages of the benefits of mining that source, of exploring its deep roots. In Rome there were five English players on the pitch at various times and at its most intense the Klopp thrash-metal style just feels like it should be English.

Before the quarter-final Fernandino had called Liverpool a long-ball team, which clearly is not true but does reflect the rather overlooked synergy between the pressing style and classic direct football of the 1950s. Both are designed to provide creativity out of broken play, the kind of attack that can feed like a shoal of piranhas off a state of engineered disorder.

This is what Premier League football looks like, at least in the hopeful imagination. That is has been created by a German, led from the front by a Brazilian and a Senegalese and given a dusting of genius by an Egyptian only adds to the gaiety.

Perhaps Liverpool really will be able to assert their own strengths in Kiev, to summon up the fury of the Red Zone. Some will pore fretfully over the weaknesses in Liverpool's backline, albeit these are mirrored in Real's own regally dozy approach to the common mud of marking and tracking back.

One other thing, though: a oneoff final suits Liverpool much better than the more unforgiving exam over two legs. Finals can be crazy, adrenal things, there to be wrenched away in a fateful 20-minute surge. Now, who does that remind you of?

# Only one thing is assured for the final in Kiev - it will be chaos

Real Madrid may be cruising for a bruising but Liverpool cannot be trusted either

Jonathan Wilson

There was a point on Tuesday night when the thought occurred that this Real Madrid are like Brazil at the 2014 World Cup, a gifted but complacent side who could be sleepwalking towards a hammering.

Marcelo's "We are Real Madrid" comment, and the sense of entitlement it implied, suggested he had learned nothing from the humiliation of Belo Horizonte. But then came Liverpool's anxiety-riddled progress on Wednesday and the realisation that even after the improvements of the past four months, they still cannot be trusted. Either side could score six in Kiev; both may. Nobody can control games any more.

It remains possible that Liverpool will simply overwhelm Real. An ageing Bayern Munich seemed to have a physical edge over them and Juventus certainly did; Juventus were outmatched by Tottenham in the last 16 and Liverpool are at least their equals in terms of pace, power and aggression. Premier League teams have underperformed yet again in Europe this season but there has been a distinct sense that their football is played at a higher tempo than elsewhere.

The thought of Sadio Mané running at Lucas Vázquez (if Dani Carvajal fails to recover from a thigh injury in time) should terrify Real, although no more than the prospect of Mohamed Salah frolicking in the space Marcelo should have been occupying if he had not decided to wander forward and join an attack a couple of minutes earlier.

Like so much in this game, though, the flanks are a battle that could go either way. Both late on at Anfield, after the reversion to 4-3-3, and throughout Wednesday's second leg, Roma caused problems by getting in behind the full-backs, Trent Alexander-Arnold in particular. The 19-year-old had an uncomfortable night at the Stadio Olimpico but that was in part a result of him being left isolated by the lack of support he received from Salah, itself presumably a deliberate ploy to have the Egyptian stay high up the pitch to try to exploit the space left when Aleksandar Kolarov advanced.

A similar calculation is likely in the final. Given Marcelo is such an attacking full-back, Jürgen Klopp may decide it makes sense to have Salah sit in the space he will inevitably leave behind him. If he does, though, it will probably require an adjustment in midfield so that Georginio Wijnaldum offers Alexander-Arnold more support than he did on Wednesday.

Much, though, depends on Real Madrid's shape. To play the 4-4-2 they did against Bayern on Tuesday would seem to play into Liverpool's hands. Not only would it not put direct pressure on the full-backs, forcing them, at the very least, to engage in a game of chicken every time they ventured forward, it would cede control of the



midfield to Liverpool, who would have three men in the middle against two.

Zinedine Zidane may opt for the 4-3-3 he deployed in the Champions League this season at Borussia Dortmund in the group stage and Bayern in the semi-final, but although Real won both fixtures they were defensively convincing in neither. It may be, then, that Zidane prefers a 4-3-1-2, probably with Isco operating behind Cristiano Ronaldo, who could pull left to pressure Alexander-Arnold, and Karim Benzema.

That would, admittedly, give Andy Robertson a certain freedom on the left, a particular issue if Carvajal is not back or if he is not fully fit, but it would threaten Liverpool in another area where they have looked vulnerable at the back of midfield. The problem of their highly mobile and aggressive central midfield three is they can leave the back four exposed, and it is easy to imagine Isco finding space in front of Virgil van Dijk and Dejan Lovren and orchestrating Liverpool's destruction.

But those doubts are all the result of Liverpool's timorousness in the second half in Rome, where they seemed to become caught between the two stools of playing with their usual verve and trying to stifle the game. A tentativeness crept into their play and their counterattacks, usually so fluent, began to break down amid indecision around the edge of the box.

Ronaldo and Benzema will do minimal defensive work which means there will at least be occasions when Liverpool have an extra man in midfield. Marcelo will get caught upfield. Depending on the progress of Carvajal's injury, Real may have a weakness at right-back.

Liverpool should offer more of a threat on the flanks. They certainly have a physical advantage. If they can play with the pace and conviction they showed in the first half of the first leg against Manchester City or the final 15 minutes of the first half against Roma at Anfield, they could blow Real Madrid away. But they do have defensive vulnerabilities and Real, as Marcelo noted, have a habit of winning games they have in no way controlled, largely by dint of having some very, very good players.

Reason seems of little use here; this will be chaos.

#### We honestly believe we can beat Real, says Mané

Andy Hunter Rome

Sadio Mané and Dejan Lovren have encapsulated the belief soaring through Liverpool by insisting Real Madrid hold no fear in the Champions League final and that the 12-times winners should be the team approaching the Kiev final with trepidation.

"Why should we fear them?" asked Lovren. "They should fear us. They are quite confident but we don't care for that - we are focused on our job." Mané expanded on the confidence that Liverpool possess under Klopp. "We honestly believe we can beat them," the Senegal striker, said.

"I can say at this moment we do have a lot of respect for Madrid, they are one of the best teams in the world, but we are Liverpool - we are strong and we can beat any team in the world. We believe that. So we believe we can go there and beat them. We are going to go there and fight for the fans, for the club, fight without fear and win the final. We have the players. We can score goals, we have shown that and there is nothing to be afraid of for us."

Mané led the celebrations in front of Liverpool's 5,000 supporters following a tense finale in which Roma came within a goal of taking the semi-final to extra time. The 26-year-old said: "This is one of my greatest moments. I am very proud of what this team has achieved. Everybody was dancing like crazy. Everybody was so happy, dancing together, we enjoyed the moment together. It was special to

be in that dressing room, such an incredible moment."

Liverpool have reached three finals since Klopp replaced Brendan Rodgers as manager in October 2015: the League Cup and Europa League in his first campaign and now European football's elite competition in his third. Having lost the first two, and his past five finals in total, the Liverpool manager has backed his players to break that sequence against Zinédine Zidane's reigning champions.

Lovren insists the team have also regained their pride under the German, irrespective of the outcome in Kiev. "He has changed the mentality, how we think. Everything is more positive now. Even when we sometimes don't play good he always finds something good and there is not negativity.

"It is not accidental that he already reached the final of the Champions League in 2013 with Dortmund. He has given the club pride back. Everyone feels that. Everyone should be proud we have a manager like him."

### Cooper's under-17s ready for Europe after 2017 vintage ruled the world

**Jamie Jackson** 

Steve Cooper, the England Under-17 coach who masterminded the World Cup triumph in October, believes his team's European Championship favourites tag should be embraced.

England's campaign starts today against Israel at Chesterfield's Proact Stadium, with Switzerland and Italy the other Group A sides.

Cooper's side joined Paul Simpson's under-20s by becoming world champions last year, with a 5-2 win against Spain in India. Yet Manchester City's golden ball winner Phil Foden and Liverpool's eight-goal golden boot winner Rhian Brewster are now - along with all players born in 2000 - too old.

Cooper says: "This is a different under-17 group to the one that won in India - boys born in 2001 - so they're very much on their own journey on this international stage. Obviously with all teams doing so well in last 12 months, with World Cup wins for the 17s and 20s, and the 19s becoming European champions, too, we know the landscape has changed a little with expectations.

"So we need to thrive on it but at the same time focus on our work. We want to be successful in every event we enter but we're also building for the future. The aim of our work is to produce players for a senior winning England team.

As the hosts, England, who are based at the tournament hub, St George's Park, did not have to qualify, so the 38-year-old arranged bespoke preparation.

In a November friendly less than two weeks after England's World Cup triumph, they defeated Portugal 3-2, before 2-1 victories over Russia and



Algarve Tournament, where they were

captained by Manchester United's

Jimmy Garner and City's Tommy Doyle.

1-1 with Germany - the goal scored by

Bobby Duncan, who is Steven Gerrard's

cousin - and defeated the Netherlands

2-0. Their last two matches before the

Euros were against Brazil in Spain, los-

may feature Fulham's Luca Ashby-

Hammond in goal, Doyle in midfield,

United's Mason Greenwood at No 10

and Duncan at centre-forward, says:

"We've had a different kind of pro-

gramme and have tried to arrange

the most demanding games possible.

There's been some good and not so

good results and performances. We've

Cooper, whose team against Israel

ing 1-0 and drawing 1-1.

England lost 4-0 to Portugal, drew

▲ Steve Cooper's England Under-17 side won the World Cup in October JAN KRUGER/FIFA VIA GETTY IMAGES

we're also building

**Steve Cooper** 

for the future'

'We want to be successful in every

event we enter but

job is for safety to be mathematically confirmed," he said. "I think Brighton have enough points already."

Mourinho has the opportunity to give Anthony Martial or Marcus Rashford a rare start, because Romelu Lukaku is in Belgium for treatment on an ankle injury in an effort to be fit for the FA Cup final on 19 May. "They have had limited opportunities because Romelu has been playing so well but I trust them both," he said.

Martial is one of several players at United who may be prepared to move in search of more playing time, though Mourinho insisted he wants to keep hold of all his squad. "am not recommending we sell anyone. Marouane Fellaini may decide to leave but he knows we want him to stay. He has an offer on the table that is better than the one he had before."

Mourinho would not confirm whether his assistant, Rui Faria, has been in touch with Arsenal, though he would not stand in Faria's way if an opportunity came along. "After 18 years he is more than my assistant, he is my friend. If the chance of a big job arises I will try to help him."

managed to look at a lot of players this year and it's different now as we're in tournament mode.' After Israel, England face Italy in

Walsall on Monday before closing the group phase against Switzerland in Rotherham on Thursday.

Cooper says: "The beauty of the under-17s is that you don't quite know what you're playing against and sometimes don't know what you'll get from your own boys at these tournaments because it's their first experience of the Uefa finals.

"Israel are a really good team we've studied them closely. Some people may look at the fixture and think it's going to be straightforward but it'll be far from it. They qualified comprehensively in a tough group and we'll be showing them maximum respect."

#### Rangers close to naming Gerrard as manager on three-year deal

Rangers hope to confirm Steven Gerrard as their new manager today, after successful discussions vesterday took the former Liverpool captain to the verge of accepting the Ibrox post.

Rangers, who believed a week ago that Gerrard could be coaxed north to begin his career in management, now sense only formalities are to be completed. Gerrard headed straight from his midweek Champions League punditry work for BT Sport to continue talks with Rangers, including the chairman Dave King, in London.

The 37-year-old is believed to be enthused by the prospect of firstly narrowing the gap between Rangers and Celtic, before attempting an assault on the Scottish title.

Gerrard is expected to name the former Scotland captain Gary McAllister as part of his coaching staff. Barring a late and sensational change in circumstances, which nobody at Ibrox anticipates, Gerrard will accept the role left vacant when Pedro Caixinha was sacked last October. The Champions League winner is expected to sign a three-vear contract.

Graeme Murty managed Rangers on an interim basis until this week. with the 5-0 defeat by Celtic on Sunday leading to Murty being relieved of his duties. Rangers announced Jimmy Nicholl and Jonatan Johansson would preside over the team for the closing three games of this season.

Derek McInnes, the former Rangers midfielder who declined an offer in December to return to Ibrox in order to stay at Aberdeen, has said the prospect of Gerrard entering the Scottish game "can only be seen as a good thing".

#### Bailly left out so others can grab World Cup spot, says Mourinho

**Paul Wilson** 

José Mourinho has revealed why Eric Bailly has been frozen out of the Manchester United first team in the past few weeks - it is because Ivorv Coast have not qualified for the World

Alternatively, to put it in a more logical way. Mourinho feels honour-bound to give his other four central defenders the chance to shine, because Phil Jones, Chris Smalling, Marcos Rojo and Victor Lindelöf are all striving to win a place in their national squads for Russia.

Bailly has not played since the Manchester derby a month ago but Mourinho denied reports of a rift or possible sale. "There is no situation, Eric is fine," the manager said. "If I

have to make an emotional choice then Eric is the one I am not going to help. The other four are all fighting for a place."

United are at Brighton tonight with the home side knowing a victory would make Premier League survival certain, though Mourinho believes Chris Hughton has already done enough. 'Chris has done a very good job and all he needs to turn that into an amazing



▲ Eric Bailly has not featured since the Manchester derby in early April

#### Hodgson fears exit of Ward and Cabaye

**Dominic Fifield** 

Crystal Palace are to hold talks with Yohan Cabaye and Joel Ward next week to clarify their plans for the future, with Roy Hodgson expecting to lose the experienced pair under freedom of contract this summer.

Palace go into tomorrow's game at Stoke six points clear of the relegation places and with thoughts turning to next season. Talks with five players whose deals expire on 1 July have been on hold while the club were under the threat of relegation but the sporting director, Dougie Freedman, will meet those concerned next week.

As it stands, Cabaye and Ward will depart. Cabaye has proved a key performer under Hodgson but would need to accept a cut to his £100,000-a-week salary to extend his stay. Marseille have been credited with an interest.

"We need to get our preparation and recruitment right because we are going to be losing some very good players at the end of this season," Hodgson said. "You can't talk with people until you know where you're going to be and what you've got to offer. So this is going to be hard work in the coming days for myself and Doug Freedman.

"There's no doubt we are losing players, not least [the loanees] Ruben Loftus-Cheek and Tim Fosu-Mensah, quite apart from anyone who might leave the club for other reasons."

Hodgson would expect to recruit replacements to ensure his 25-man squad is filled. The Spanish goalkeeper Vicente Guaita is joining from Getafe, and Palace have looked at Fulham's Ryan Fredericks and the Anderlecht midfielder Leander Dendoncker. The manager said he was "fairly confident" Christian Benteke would be retained, despite a disappointing season, and stressed he saw his own future at the club next term.

### Palace is going to be a war we must win, says Shaqiri

**Stuart James** 

Xherdan Shaqiri will hold talks with Stoke City about his future in the summer regardless of whether they retain their Premier League status, with the Switzerland forward determined to do everything in his power to help the club survive this season but honest enough to admit that fighting relegation is not what he signed up for when he joined from Internazionale.

Speaking in the lead-up to the critical home match against Crystal Palace tomorrow, Shaqiri sounded totally committed in the short term as he stressed the need for "11 warriors on the pitch" for a game that Stoke must win to have any chance of avoiding the drop, yet there was also no escaping his sense of disappointment at the way things have turned out at the club he joined three years ago for £12m.

"I am as frustrated as everyone, I think because I came here for different ambitions, not to play for relegation," Shaqiri said. "But sometimes at a club something goes wrong and you have to stand up and try to do the best.

"Of course they need to do a lot of new things in the club. But the most important thing is to stay up with this club and then you can rebuild."

Asked what he did expect when he signed for Stoke, the 26-year-old replied: "I didn't expect to go to the Champions League, or to be champions, but at least to see the club going forward, that was for me the most important thing. When I came here. I wanted to do more than they are at the moment, every year [getting] better and better and better. It was not [to be] like this and it's always difficult to say why.

"When I came here, the coach [Mark Hughes] called me and said 'I want you here', that he wanted to improve a team that would play maybe for Europe - maybe like Burnley now, they're going for sixth or seventh

► Xherdan Shaqiri, battling with Steven Defour of Burnley, is set for showdown talks with Stoke ALEX LIVESEY/GETTY IMAGES

place, which is surprising. But it never happened here. It's sometimes difficult to accept but I give everything to my club, I have a long contract that I signed here, so I try to give a performance every weekend to help my team-mates achieve something."
Shaqiri, who is Stoke's leading

scorer this season with seven Premier League goals, has two years remaining on his current deal and it seems like a foregone conclusion that the former Bavern Munich winger will move on in the event of relegation.

"Everybody knows I'm a player who wants to play at the highest level,

'Sometimes at a club something goes wrong and you have to stand up and try to do the best'

**Xherdan Shaqiri** Stoke forward

that's pretty normal," Shaqiri said. "But I hope we are going to end this well, that we stay up, then we will sit down with the club."

Shaqiri's aspirations when he arrived were fuelled by the idea that Hughes was trying to take Stoke in a much more exciting direction and, in fairness, there were moments when that plan had real substance. The 2-0 victory against Manchester City in December 2015 springs to mind, when Shaqiri starred alongside Marko Arnautovic and Bojan Krkic in a thrilling attacking trident that wreaked havoc against Manuel Pellegrini's side. Yet the fun only lasted so long and there were signs that Stoke were losing their way long before the start of this season.

With so much at stake still, Shaqiri is reluctant to wade into the reasons for the club's decline but poor recruitment is clearly at the heart of the matter, in particular up front, where the absence of a regular goalscorer has been a huge problem. "Everybody knows at the club what was wrong, so they're going to look at everything at the end of the season," Shaqiri said. "There's no time here to do that now, to go through each point.

"People know the biggest thing that happened in this club. There have been a lot of transfers that they thought were going to help us - and they were good transfers - but something went wrong."

The damage is not yet terminal as far as Stoke's survival prospects are concerned but, realistically, they will need to beat Palace and then win at Swansea on the final day to have any chance of avoiding relegation. Shaqiri is up for the challenge.

"I'm going to try everything and give my best," he said. "Sometimes you have to go to war. Crystal Palace is going to be like this - it's a war we have to win for sure. We need 11 warriors on the pitch who are going to beat their opponent."



#### Rangers confident of locking down Gerrard manager deal

Rangers are hoping to push through a deal for Steven Gerrard to become their manager in the coming days.

Ibrox sources were increasingly confident of finalising a deal after the former Liverpool captain confirmed on Tuesday that he had held "positive" initial talks with the Glasgow club and would revisit them yesterday.

Gerrard's former team-mate Danny Murphy had earlier reported that the 37-year-old was looking for firm assurances about the finances available.

Graeme Murty lost the job on Tuesday, three days before his short-term contract was due to end, after his team lost nine goals and failed to score in two games against Celtic last month.

Jimmy Nicholl and Jonatan Johansson have been handed control for the final three matches of the season as Rangers aim to overtake Aberdeen in second place. They are level on points with fourth-placed Hibernian, three behind the Dons, with only the top three guaranteed European football.

"The prospect of a global name like Steven Gerrard coming into the Scottish game can only be seen as a good thing. It would be a box-office name," the Aberdeen manager, Derek McInnes, said. "That can only help the Scottish game, I'm sure."

Scotland's manager, Alex McLeish, moreover, who won seven trophies in five and a half seasons at Ibrox, is adamant that the country needs a strong Rangers. "I think the Scottish game is looking for a strong Rangers team," he said. "We need that. I'm sure Celtic would relish a good challenge. There's all sorts of talk about a new manager and I'm sure he will want to come mobhanded in terms of money to spend."

Gerrard's only coaching experience

is with Liverpool Under-18s but McLeish is an example of someone who made an impact managing in Scotland as a young rookie. The former Aberdeen defender led Motherwell to second place in the league in his first campaign as a player-manager in



▲ Steven Gerrard has asked for firm guarantees about finances available

1994-95. The team then slid down the table as he discovered how crucial it was to recruit well.

Gerrard is said to be seeking guarantees over available funds, but Rangers have received loans totalling about £20m in recent seasons and a planned share issue is yet to materialise.

McLeish said: "My first season we were second behind Rangers. To think we could be above one of the Old Firm at the end of the season was quite astonishing and I thought: 'This manager lark is a doddle.' And then I found out when we had to get new recruits, because we lost about seven or eight of that special team.

"That's when you realise how important recruitment is." PA

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Sport

Football Europa League semi-final second leg

And here's one for old times' sake



# Costa escapes Arsenal's clutches to deny Wenger



For Arsène Wenger, there will be no happy ending. Diego Simeone's team are, as promised, on their way to the Europa League final and Wenger's long goodbye will reach its climax without the final chapter he desperately wanted to be written into the story.

All that is left now is Sunday's game against Burnley - his farewell to the Emirates - and the trip to Huddersfield the following weekend and perhaps it is typical of Arsenal's decline since his peak years that it should end this way. Arsenal came up short, as they often do against elite opposition, and Atlético were too worldly for them once Diego Costa had given the home side a 2-1 aggregate lead late in the first half.

This was Atlético's 12th successive



▲ Diego Simeone shouts from the stands to drive on Atlético in Madrid

match at this stadium when they have not conceded a goal - an incredible run that goes back to 20 January and covers 1,097 minutes in play - and that parsimonious defending, ultimately, was the difference between the two sides over the two legs. Atlético were brilliantly efficient at the back and, unfortunately for Wenger, the same is rarely said of his team.

On top of everything else Arsenal also lost Laurent Koscielny to injury that meant they had to play all but the opening seven minutes without their captain. Koscielny, who has been nursing a long-standing achilles problem, went down in such a way the seriousness of the situation immediately became apparent. He was in distress, pounding the turf in agony and frustration, and it was difficult not to think there will be ramifications for France, too. Koscielny was supposed to retire from international football after the World Cup; instead, his involvement in Russia looks doubtful.

For Arsenal, that meant an unexpected appearance for Calum Chambers to fill in alongside Shkodran Mustafi with the task of trying to

subdue Diego Costa and Antoine Griezmann. That was never going to be straightforward and the two Atlético forwards combined brilliantly at the end of the first half, in the time added on for Koscielny's four minutes of treatment, to give Diego Simeone's team the lead.

The goal showed the qualities of both players. Griezmann's pass was beautifully weighted and once Costa had got behind Héctor Bellerín it was always going to be difficult for the Arsenal right-back to make up for his positional error. Bellerín might have been faster but Costa was stronger, shielding the ball with his body while expertly holding out an arm to keep his opponent a safe distance away. David Ospina, who had a nervous opening 45 minutes, advanced from his line and Costa swept he ball past Arsenal's goal-keeper with a confident left-foot finish.

Until the point the Arsenal supporters, positioned in the most vertiginous levels of this sweeping new-build stadium, must have been pleasantly surprised by the way their team had been playing. All the same, they had a lot of the ball on the edge of the Atlético pen-

**▼** Laurent Koscielny reacts after sustaining an injury on a torrid night





**Euro** dreams fraying at the seams

alty area without being able to conjure up a clear shooting opportunity.

Alexandre Lacazette let himself down with a heavy touch on the one occasion in that period when the home side looked vulnerable and, though Atlético do not play with the finesse or style of Real Madrid and Barcelona, they are never flustered when the other team attack in numbers. In 35 games in La Liga this season, Simeone's team have conceded only 18 goals - and, to put that in perspective, it is under half the number Real, the Champions League finalists, have let in.

Arsenal, on the other hand, arrived on the back of their worst sequence of away results, six successive defeats in the Premier League, since 1966, leaving them as the only team in England's four divisions not to win a solitary point on their travels since the turn of the year. They needed something special - and an away goal at this stadium is exactly that - and had little choice but to press forward after the break.

They were attacking the end where the Arsenal supporters were gathered and there were some encouraging moments early in the second half. Granit Xhaka's low shot brought the first noteworthy save from Jan Oblak and there were even a few moments of carelessness from the home team's defenders.

Mesut Özil's influence was growing.  $Beller \'in \'s \, surging \, runs \, from \, right-back$ were another feature and, midway through the half, Wenger brought on Henrikh Mkhitaryan to increase their attacking threat at the expense of Jack Wilshere

Still, though, Arsenal struggled to create a clear chance. There was only one goal in it but the onslaught that might have been anticipated late on never materialised and it was a feeble  $end to Wenger's 250 th \, European \, game.$ 

Atlético Madrid 4-4-2 Oblak; Partey (Savic 90), Giménez, Godin, Hernández; Koke, Gabi , Saúl , Vitolo (Correa 74); Costa (Torres 83), <u>Subs not used</u> Werner, Filipe Luis, Gameiro, Olabe

Arsenal
4-3-2-1
Ospina; Bellerín,
Mustafi , Koscielny
(Chambers 12), Monreal ;
Ramsey, Xhaka, Wilshere (Mkhitaryan 68); Welbeck, Özil; Lacazette

Referee Gianluca Rocchi (It)

**Sid Lowe** Estadio Metropolitano



#### A club reborn under Simeone and grateful for opportunity to win any trophy they can

hen Atlético Madrid were knocked out of the Champions League their captain, Gabi Fernández, admitted "right now, the Europa League looks shit to us", but it feels mighty good to them now.

Another final awaits, another trophy, and even if this was a club that had felt like it left Europe's other competition behind, it is one for which they will reach. No one here doubts that a trophy, any trophy, matters. They need only ask Fernando Torres, playing out his final weeks at a club he first joined two decades ago - back when they were a byword for failure and crisis.

Torres left, of course. He became a World Cup winner, but the only title he won with Atlético was the second division. By the time he returned, everything had changed. Atlético used to lose games such as this: now, they held on to Diego Costa's opening goal as Arsenal pressed. Atlético became a side that know how to resist and in Jan Oblak they have a goalkeeper among Europe's best. No one had scored here since January, 11 games ago. Arsenal tried, but could not prevent that run expanding. And so here Atlético are, in their fourth European final in seven years.

As for Torres, this could be his first title with his club and he will hope to appear in Lyon. It would be their sixth with Diego Simeone. There have also been two Champions League finals. This year, they were denied a third in Europe's major competition and there were regrets when Chelsea and Roma progressed ahead of them, but this is still history. It is hope, too.

Atlético are in the final of a competition they won in 2012, Simeone's first season. That first trophy was the start of their revolution and "shit" though it is came to feel, this reconnects them with their origins, repackaged as

the chance to renew, a pattern repeated. Some of the old guard are still around, but they are fewer now. Of those in the squad here, only Diego Godín, Koke and Gabi played in 2012, with Costa and Felipe Luís joining them in the side that won the league two years later.

Costa and Felipe Luís left and came back. Thomas Partey, Saúl Ñíguez, Lucas Hernández, José Giménez and Ángel Correa are all 25 or under, and Simeone talked often about constructing a new side, a new generation - although Antoine Griezmann, who provided the goal, looks set to leave. It would be a new era and in a new home, which is why it felt like there was even more than a place in the final at play; there was a place of their own, too.

his is their first season at the Estadio Metropolitano, and this felt like its first big night. That, certainly, is what they wanted. how they tried to build this. This did not feel like a home yet; this semi would be an occasion to help it feel lived in. A thousand Atlético fans gathered at the team hotel the previous evening, with fireworks, flags, and a banner recreated one of Luis Aragonés's more famous lines: "win and win again". They would do so together. Without an orchestra, there is no dance; tomorrow we need you all," Griezmann insisted. "There are games you play with the heart more than the head and this is one of them," Simeone said.

"We need a stadium that conveys passion because that is what we are," he said. "We need a stadium that explodes." When Costa, the old guard who is the new guard too, the man who walked away and walked back in again, scored the goal that took them to another final, it did.

**▲**Atlético's Lucas Hernández flies over Jan Oblak and Arsenal's Nacho Monreal during the second leg RUBEN ALBARRAN/ REX/SHUTTERSTOCK

#### **Results**

#### **Football**

LIFFA CHAMPIONS I FAGUE

Atlético Madrid (1) **1** (0) 2 Marseille og (agg 2-2; score at 90m Red Bull Salzburg Haidara 53, Sarr 650

VANARAMA NATIONAL LEAGUE

Play-offs: First round Boreham Wood 2 AFC Fylde 1

#### **Rugby league**

#### BETFRED SUPER LEAGUE

	Р	W	D	L	F	A	PD	Pts
St Helens	14	12	0	2	454	164	+290	24
Wigan	12	10	0	2	347	176	+171	20
Warrington	13	9	0	4	286	191	+95	18
Castleford	11	8	0	3	228	192	+36	16
Leeds	12	7	1	4	230	201	+29	15
Hull	13	7	0	6	304	273	+31	14
Wakefield	12	5	0	7	212	248	-36	10
Salford	13	5	0	8	226	288	-62	10
Widnes	12	3	0	9	221	287	-66	6
Hull KR	12	3	0	9	215	288	-73	6
Catalans Dragons	13	3	0	10	179	345	-166	6
Huddersfield	13	2	1	10	168	417	-249	5
St Helens		26	Catalans Dragons					12

#### Cricket

SPECSAVERS COUNTY CHAMPIONSHIP

Division Two (first day of four)

#### Warwickshire v Derbyshire

Edgbaston Warwickshire (3pts) trail Derbyshire (3) by 286 runs with nine first-innings wickets remaining. Derbyshire First innings 
 MHA Footitt b Brookes
 0

 Extras (b4, lb7, nb8)
 19

 Total (81.5 overs)
 318

 Fall 28, 72, 80, 84, 168, 209, 233, 251, 318.

 Bowling Wright 18.4-2-81-2; Sidebottom 9.2-1-39-0; Rhodes 11-2-30-0; Brookes 15.5-0-63-4; Patel 27-3-94-4.

Warwickshire First innings

WMH Rhodes not out ..........
DP Sibley c Critchley b Olivier
CJC Wright not out ............ Extras (b1, w2)......... Total (for 1, 12 overs)

To bat IR Bell, JJL Trott, SR Hain, M Lamb, †TR Ambrose, \*JS Patel, HJH Brookes, RN Sidebottom. Bowling Viljoen 4-1-13-0; Olivier 4-0-11-1; Hamidullah Qadri 2-1-2-0; Critchley 2-1-5-0.

Toss Derbyshire elected to bat.

Umpires RK Illingworth and NA Mallander.

#### WTA PRAGUE OPEN (Czech Republic)

Quarter-finals: P Kvitova (Cz) bt K Siniakova (Cz) 6-3 6-3; Zhang Shuai (Chn) bt J Paolini (It) 6-4 6-3; M Buzarnescu (Rom) bt Kristyna Pliskova (Cz) 6-2 6-3; C Giorgi (It) bt S Stosur (Aus) 6-2 6-3

#### WTA MOROCCO OPEN (Rabat)

Quarter-finals: A Krunic (Ser) bt P Badosa Gibert (Sp) 6-2 1-0 ret; A Tomljanovic (Aus) bt J Fett (Cro) 3-6 6-3 6-3; E Mertens (Bel) bt S Errani (It) 6-3 6-1; Hsieh S-w (Tai) bt K Zavatska (Ukr) 6-1 6-1 ATP ISTANBUL OPEN (Turkey)

Second round: J Chardy (Fr) bt D Lajovic (Ser) 4-6 7-6 (3) 6-2; T Fabbiano (It) bt D Dzumhur (Bos) 6-2 0-6 6-2; M Jaziri (Tun) bt M Cliic (Cro) 6-4 6-2; J Vesely (Cz) bt T Monteiro (Bra) 6-2 2-6 7-6 (3)

Second round: M Fucsovics (Hun) bt M Cecchinato (It) 7-6 (5) 6-1; M Marterer (Ger) bt D Schwartzman (Arg) 6-4 6-2; P Kohlschreiber (Ger) bt M Zverev (Ger) 6-2 6-2; R Bautista Agut (Sp) bt C Ruud (Nor) 6-4 6-3

Men: Stage one (Beverley-Doncaster; 182km) 1 H Tanfield (GB) Canyon Eisberg 4hr 08min 12sec; 2 A Slater (GB) JLT Condor; 3 M Cuming (GB) Madison Genesis both same time

Women: Stage one (Beverley-Doncaster; 132.5km)

1 K Wild (Neth) Wiggle High5 3hr 28min 20sec; 2 A Dideriksen (Den) Boels Dolmans +0:04sec; 3 A Barnes (GB) Canyon +0:06

#### **Fixtures**

Ladbrokes Scottish Premiership Partick v Ross County (7.45pm) Play-off: Quarter-final: Second leg Dundee Utd (0) v Dunfermline (0) (7.45pm)

#### Rugby leagu

Huddersfield v Widnes (7.45pm); Leeds v Warrington (7.45pm); Wigan v Salford (8pm)

Cricket (11am unless stated)

Division One (first day of four)

Chelmsford Essex v Yorkshire; Old Trafford Lancashire v Somerset; The Oval Surrey v Worcestershire;

Sometset; The Ovariantly Novetsetshine Trent Bridge Nottinghamshire v Hampshire Division Two (first day of four) Cardiff Glamorgan v Kent; Hove Sussex v Mi Riverside Durham v Leicestershire Tour match (first day of four) Northampton Northamptonshire v Pakistan



# Liverpool's legacy

into team on cusp of glory

How Klopp moulded his side of European also-rans **Barney Ronay**  $Page 46 \rightarrow$ 

#### Sports newspaper of the year

The Guardian Friday 4 May 2018



# Sport

Team Sky under fire once more at Giro start Page 42→



11 The foundation for change in the game is a difference in the style of coaches **II Liam Rosenior** explains why pragmatism can trump ideology



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